

“No Comfort for This Mourning, and No Healing for This Pain”

Consolation, Lament, and Ethopoia in the Pseudo-Dionysian

Epistle to Timothy on the Death of the Apostles Peter and Paul

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Although it is preserved in dozens of manuscripts across a spectrum of medieval languages, the pseudo-Dionysian *Epistle to Timothy on the Death of the Apostles Peter and Paul* (hereafter *EpTim*) has received relatively minimal analysis from scholars. This text purports to be a woeful letter from Dionysios the Areopagite to Paul’s disciple Timothy that gives the former’s eyewitness testimony to the recent martyrdoms of both Peter and Paul in Rome, with a special emphasis on Paul, the teacher of both the acclaimed sender and recipient of the letter.¹ Aside from several older editions of individual versions of the text and a recent critical edition and synoptic comparison of the versions,² few

scholars have analyzed the text for its literary and historical import.³ Why did the author choose Dionysios

1 The most accessible version of this text is the Latin text and English translation found in D. L. Eastman, trans., *The Ancient Martyrdom Accounts of Peter and Paul* (Atlanta, 2015), 343–65. Most useful to those interested in the text, however, is the recent critical edition and German translations of the various medieval versions of the text in C. Macé et al., eds. and trans., *Corpus Dionysiacum*, vol. 3.1, *Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita: Epistola ad Timotheum de morte apostolorum Petri et Pauli* (Berlin, 2021), which I use in this article.

2 For older editions that are based on incomplete manuscript evidence, see the following: Latin: B. Mombrizio, ed., “Epistola beati Dionysii areopagite Petri et Pauli ad Timotheum,” in *Sanctuarium seu Vitae sanctorum*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1910), 2:354–57, 709–10; Syriac and Armenian: P. Martin, ed., “Dionysii Areopagitae,” in *Analecta sacra spicilegio solesmensi*, vol. 4, *Patres antenicaeni*, ed. J. B. Pitra (Paris, 1883), 241–54, 261–76, and K. Tsherkian, *Libri apostolorum spurii: Libri apostolici non canonici*, Thesaurus litterarum armeniarum antiquarum et recentium 3 (Venice, 1904), 110–22; Ethiopic: E. A. W. Budge, ed. and trans., *The Contendings of the Apostles, Being the Histories of the Lives and Martyrdoms and Deaths of the Twelve Apostles and*

Evangelists, vol. 1, *The Ethiopic Text* (London, 1899), 50–65; Arabic: W. S. Watson, ed. and trans., “An Arabic Version of the Epistle of Dionysius the Areopagite to Timothy,” *AJSLL* 16 (1900): 225–41. For English translated from Ethiopic, see S. C. Malan, trans., *The Conflicts of the Holy Apostles: An Apocryphal Book of the Early Eastern Church* (London, 1871), 240–43; for French translated from Armenian, see L. Leloir, trans., *Écrits apocryphes sur les apôtres: Traduction de l’édition arménienne de Venise*, Corpus christianorum, Series apocryphorum 3, 2 vols. (Turnhout, 1986–92), 1:173–88; for French translated from Georgian, see C. Macé, “La lettre de Denys l’Aréopagite à Timothée sur la mort des apôtres Pierre et Paul: L’apport de la version géorgienne,” *Apocrypha* 31 (2020): 61–104. As stated in n. 1, the most complete editions of each version, with German translations, can now be found in Macé et al., *Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita*.

3 In addition to brief introductions in several of the above editions and translations, the following comprise most of the analyses, composed largely of brief summaries, text-critical analysis, or discussions of the text’s date: P. Peeters, “Notes sur la légende des apôtres s. Pierre et s. Paul dans la littérature syrienne,” *AB* 21 (1902): 121–40; A. Baumstark, *Die Petrus- und Paulusacten in der litterarischen Überlieferung der syrischen Kirche* (Leipzig, 1902), 34–38; R. A. Lipsius, *Die Apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden: Ein Beitrag zur altchristlichen Literaturgeschichte*, 2 vols. in 3 (Braunschweig, 1883–87), 2.1:227–31; M. Muthreich, “Bemerkungen zur arabischen und äthiopischen Fassung der ‘Epistola de morte apostolorum Petri et Pauli’ (zugeschrieben dem Dionysius Areopagita),” *Philothéos* 13 (2013): 166–75; C. Macé and M. Muthreich, “Latin and Oriental Translations of the *Epistola ad Timotheum de morte apostolorum* Attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite,” in *Caught in Translation: Studies on Versions of Late Antique Christian Literature*, ed. M. Toca and D. Batovici (Leiden, 2020), 9–34; Macé, “La lettre de Denys l’Aréopagite à Timothée” (which offers a historical argument that the letter’s emphasis is on

the Areopagite as his pseudonym? Why is it composed in the form of a letter? Why, if there already existed several early Pauline and Petrine martyrdom accounts, did the author produce yet another version of their deaths? And why the intense emotional bent of the epistle? This article attempts to answer these questions by situating the text in its rhetorical and cultural context in order to elucidate its emotional and devotional function.

Although scholarship on the *EpTim* has dealt primarily with questions of authorship, dating, and editing of the text, one rhetorical aspect that several editors and commentators have mentioned—albeit rather cursorily—is that the letter contains formal rhetorical elements of lament for the deceased apostles and consolation for Timothy.⁴ This article expands upon this brief, yet repeated observation in order to determine what light it can shed on the text's function. I argue that the letter is a hybrid of a consolatory letter and a consolatory speech, two genres with close ties to *ethopoia*, that is, speech in character, a rhetorical technique also used in the text. By deploying consolatory speech and *ethopoia* to recount the memory of Peter's and, especially, Paul's martyrdoms, the author cultivates a mournful and, ultimately, hopeful affective devotion to Saint Paul among consumers of the text—a hagiographical method rather different from that of most contemporary literature.⁵

Timothy and suggests that it was written around the time that his relics were translated to Constantinople in order to give the city equal apostolic authority to Rome with Peter and Paul); J. A. Doole, "The Final Act of Paul: The Miracle of the Apostle's Re-Attaching Head," *Apocrypha* 30 (2019): 87–106, at 89–93; and C. Macé, "The Lives and Deaths of Dionysius the Areopagite," *Muséon* 135 (2022): 143–207 (which briefly notes the text as part of the biographical development of Dionysius with its emphasis on his presence in Rome during Paul's martyrdom and his role as Paul's disciple).

4 Lipsius, *Die Apokryphen Apostelgeschichten*, 228, notes that it contains "Klag- und Condolenzschreiben"; Doole, "Final Act of Paul," 91, says that the letter is a "mix of mourning and consolation"; Eastman, *Ancient Martyrdom Accounts*, 345, says that "Dionysius employs elements of the Greek and Roman literary genre *consolation*"; Muthreich, "Bemerkungen," 166, calls the text "ein Trostsprechen" and says it contains a "Klage um Petrus und Paulus"; and Macé et al., *Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita*, 112, notes that the text contains "eulogische Elemente."

5 The *EpTim*'s primary focus on Paul, rather than equally on both Peter and Paul, will become apparent throughout the article. The reason that the author included both apostles, despite his focus on one of them, is likely due to the traditional celebration of the feast day of both apostles (and their martyrdoms) jointly on either 29

There are two primary perspectives on the dating of the original *EpTim*. The majority opinion—albeit often a hesitant suggestion—dates it to the late fifth to early seventh century based primarily on text-critical grounds and on the assumed adoption of the pseudonym from the pseudo-Dionysian corpus of Neoplatonically inspired Christian mysticism, which appeared in the late fifth or early sixth century as a series of treatises and letters written from Dionysios the Areopagite to Timothy and several other apostolic figures.⁶ One recent expert, however, has dated the text to the fourth century due to the importance it assigns to its fictitious recipient, Timothy, whose status as a venerated saint increased with the transfer of his relics to the church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople in the fourth century. This would make the pseudonym a reference simply to Dionysios the Areopagite in Acts of the Apostles 17:23

June or 28 December, depending on the location and time (see D. L. Eastman, *Paul the Martyr: The Cult of the Apostle in the Latin West* [Atlanta, 2011], 23, nn. 19 and 20). Various other extant joint accounts of Peter and Paul's martyrdoms, mostly narratorial in form, were likely produced around time the *EpTim* was written (Eastman, *Ancient Martyrdom Accounts*, 221–386).

6 Several analyses of the *EpTim* have dated it to the fifth to seventh century either on the basis of a supposed seventh-century Syriac manuscript (later shown not to exist by Macé and Muthreich, "Latin and Oriental Translations," 14) or on a vague association with the pseudo-Dionysian theological corpus: Eastman, *Ancient Martyrdom Accounts*, 344–45; Baumstark, *Die Petrus- und Paulusacten*, 34–38; Martin, "Dionysii Areopagitae," vii (also on the basis of the letter's discussion of the soul after death). Lipsius (*Die Apokryphen Apostelgeschichten*, 230–31) however, erroneously dates it to the mid-ninth century, claiming that an abbot of the St. Denis monastery in Paris produced the letter in an attempt to associate Dionysios the Areopagite with the Parisian monastery. In the recent critical edition, the editors of the various versions of the texts agree that the text had a Greek *Vorlage* and two early Greek recensions that must date to before the appearance of any manuscripts of the extant versions, of which the Syriac, Armenian, and Arabic belong to one recension and the Georgian and Latin to another. Because the Syriac, Arabic, and Armenian translations were likely produced in the sixth to eighth centuries, the authors lean toward a sixth-century date, although the forward to the book leaves the date of the original up to speculation. In individual analyses of the text in independent journal articles, however, some of these same editors are even more hesitant. In "Latin and Oriental Translations," Macé and Muthreich note that the *Vorlage* must have included an attribution to Dionysios in its text due to the presence of the attribution in the titles from versions descended from both recensions and that this attribution must have been made shortly after the appearance of the pseudo-Dionysian theological corpus, but they admit that the contents of the letter—apart from the ascription—could have been composed earlier than the fifth to sixth century.

without pointing to the author of the later theological corpus. Indeed, it is impossible to determine definitively whether the author of the *EpTim* chose Dionysios as his pseudonym and the form of a letter to Timothy because he was familiar with the pseudo-Dionysian corpus or whether the author of the pseudo-Dionysian corpus chose the pseudonym because he was familiar with the *EpTim*.⁷ The letter can thus be dated anywhere between the fourth and seventh centuries.

Despite the lack of an extant Greek *Vorlage*, the Armenian and Syriac versions of the one recension appear to have been translated from Greek, and the Georgian version of the other uses Greek loanwords.⁸ A comparison of the Syriac and Latin versions demonstrates that while both translations adopt the overall structure and order, scriptural citations, and various sentences and turns of phrase from the assumed Greek original, the translations are not exactly the same, with unique sentences and ideas appearing in each version within their shared overarching framework. Therefore, while we can place the original text within the general milieu of early Byzantine Greek rhetorical culture and Christian literature, we must also evaluate each version as a unique production within its own context.

Although no manuscript of the *EpTim* dates prior to the ninth or tenth century, the text's recent editors have claimed that the earliest translations into one of the languages in which the text is extant possibly occurred in the sixth to eighth century in Syriac, Arabic, or Armenian. A Georgian translation did not appear until later, with Latin appearing only in the twelfth century.⁹ In this article I analyze the Syriac text of the *EpTim* as one of the earliest versions of the text.¹⁰

I thus hope to work as closely as possible temporally to the original Greek production and its Hellenistic rhetorical milieu.

Early Byzantine Syriac literature was no stranger to Greek learning. Although the first Syriac rhetorical literature explicitly based on Greek predecessors derives from the ninth century, Greek-Syriac bilingualism, clear use of Greek literary genres and rhetorical techniques in Syriac texts, and prolific translation of Greek texts into Syriac in Syro-Mesopotamia in the early Byzantine period indicate that Greek rhetorical education flourished in urban centers.¹¹ The Syriac version

versions of the epistle, ought to be considered a later addition, for it appears only in one Syriac manuscript, where it is found in a different location, as well as independently in Syriac literature; Macé et al., *Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita*, 27–41; Macé and Muthreich, "Latin and Oriental Translations," 18–19; Eastman, *Ancient Martyrdom Accounts*, 346; and Doole, "Final Act of Paul."

11 For the increased influence and prestige of Greek learning in the Syriac-speaking world from the fourth to ninth century, see S. Brock, "From Antagonism to Assimilation: Syriac Attitudes to Greek Learning," in *East of Byzantium: Syria and Armenia in the Formative Period*, ed. N. G. Garsoïan et al. (Washington, DC, 1982), 17–34. For the spectrum of Syriac-Greek bilingualism in early Byzantine Syria, see S. P. Brock, "Greek and Syriac in Late Antique Syria," in *Literacy and Power in the Ancient World*, ed. A. K. Bowman and G. Woolf (Cambridge, 1994), 149–60. For indirect evidence of Hellenistic rhetorical education in Syriac-speaking contexts, such as Syriac literature using Greek rhetorical techniques, hagiographical references to ascetics trained in Greek learning, engagement with Greek philosophy and other higher stages of Greek learning, and the fact that the first Syriac rhetorical treatise based on Greek predecessors (from the ninth century) seems to draw on a long-standing tradition, see M. Nicosia, "From Antony of Tagrit to the Arabic Version: The Syriac Technical Vocabulary of Rhetoric and the Migration of Words," *Hugoye* 23.1 (2020): 61–97; C. M. Chin, "Rhetorical Practice in the Chreia Elaboration of Mara bar Serapion," *Hugoye* 9.2 (2006 [2009]): 145–71; J. W. Watt, "Literary and Philosophical Rhetoric in Syriac," in *Literary and Philosophical Rhetoric in the Greek, Roman, Syriac and Arabic Worlds*, ed. F. Woerther (Hildesheim, 2009), 141–54; J. W. Watt, "Rhetoric Education and Florilegia in Syriac," in *Les auteurs syriaques et leur langue*, ed. M. Farina (Paris, 2018), 95–110; M. Farina, "Rhétorique dans la tradition syriaque," *Encyclopédie de l'humanisme méditerranéen*, ed. H. Touati (<http://encyclopedie-humanisme.com/?Rhétorique-dans-la-tradition-syriaque>); H. J. W. Drijvers, "The School of Edessa: Greek Learning and Local Culture," in *Centres of Learning: Learning and Location in Pre-Modern Europe and the Near East*, ed. H. J. W. Drijvers and A. A. MacDonald (Leiden, 1995), 49–59; J. W. Watt, "Eastward and Westward Transmission of Classical Rhetoric," in Drijvers and MacDonald, *Centres of Learning*, 63–75; and J. Watt, "Grammar, Rhetoric and the Enkyklios Paideia in Syriac," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 143.1 (1993): 45–71.

7 Macé, "La lettre de Denys l'Aréopagite." See also Macé, "Lives and Deaths," 145.

8 Macé, "La lettre de Denys l'Aréopagite," 63–67; Macé and Muthreich, "Latin and Oriental Translations"; Macé et al., *Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita*, 5–18 for summary of conclusions, 19–54 on the Syriac version, 109–54 on the Armenian version, and 155–88 on the Georgian version.

9 See respective page numbers in Macé et al., *Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita*, for conclusions about the dating of the Syriac, Armenian, and Georgian versions in n. 8 above, in addition to pp. 55–94 for the Arabic version and pp. 189–266 for the Latin version.

10 For comments on the Syriac version, see Macé et al., *Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita*, 19–54, and for the critical edition of the text with German translation, 277–336. Note that the edition and commentators on the epistle claim that the episode of Paul's miraculously reattaching head, found at the end of the Latin and Georgian

of the *EpTim* analyzed here, therefore, both reflects, participates in, and creatively adapts the Hellenistic rhetorical culture with which elite Syro-Mesopotamian learning was imbued and within which the text was originally written. The consolatory genres, techniques, and topoi that I discuss below were likely as well known to the Syriac translator of the *EpTim* as they were to its original Greek author. Because this article examines the Syriac version of the *EpTim* within the context of Hellenizing early Byzantine Syriac literature, I include in an appendix the first ever English translation of the recent Syriac edition.

EpTim as Consolatory Letter (παραμυθητική ἐπιστολή)

Although Dionysios is named as the sender within the body of the text only in the Syriac version,¹² manuscripts of the *EpTim* unanimously attribute the epistle to Dionysios;¹³ indeed, the sender's references throughout the text to his "brother Timothy" (ܡܪܝܬܝܡܝܘܨ) and to Paul as "our spiritual father" (ܡܪܝܬܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܝܡܝܘܨ) leave little doubt that the original author wrote in the guise of Dionysios the Areopagite, converted to Christ by Paul when he gave his speech to the Athenian council according to Acts. While the chronological relationship between the *EpTim* and the pseudo-Dionysian theological corpus, whose author also feigns to be the Athenian convert, remains uncertain, as explained above, scholars agree that the author of the epistle was not the same as the author of the theological corpus, for the contents and styles of the epistle and the corpus differ dramatically:¹⁶ the *EpTim* takes

the form of a letter to the apostle Timothy just as the theological corpus professes to be addressed to apostolic colleagues, including Timothy,¹⁷ but the *EpTim* is highly emotional, hagiographical, oratorical, and almost entirely devoid of the mystical and theological reflection that defines the pseudo-Dionysian corpus.¹⁸ The author of the *EpTim* instead produced a fictitious consolatory letter from Dionysios the Areopagite to his colleague Timothy on the occasion of the martyrdom of their shared teacher, Paul.

Fictitious epistles were a common Greek literary production beginning in the Hellenistic period, taking the form of single letters, collections, and epistolary novels. Long thought to be authentic, their ascriptions range from Plato and other classical philosophers to Themistocles and Athenian political heroes to fabricated peasants and sex workers.¹⁹ Christians also

Dionysios apart from their assumption that he was adopting the pseudonym from the slightly earlier theological opus (see above, n. 6). Most commentators have used this association merely to date the text, as C. M. Stang, *Apophysis and Pseudonymity in Dionysius the Areopagite: "No Longer I"* (New York, 2012), 27–28, notes. When they do consider the reason why the theologian wrote under the name of the Areopagite, they typically claim that the pseudonym was used to gain an audience and to convince readers of the apostolic origins of the theology of these treatises. Stang (ibid., 117–206) has proposed, however, that the fictitious authorial claim for the pseudo-Dionysian corpus was integral to its apophatic theology. Namely, the author negates his identity by taking on a pseudonym of a convert whom Paul states worshiped God "unknowingly" (ἀγνοοῦντες [Acts 17:23]), allowing him to come into union with the unknown God of his theology. But this does not apply to the *EpTim*, due to its different authorship and its dramatic differences from the pseudo-Dionysian corpus.

17 In addition to the apostolic addressees of the pseudo-Dionysian letters (Gaius, Sospiter, Polycarp, Titus, and John, names that appear in the Pauline letters, Revelation, and among the Apostolic Fathers), see pseudo-Dionysios's four treatises, *On Divine Names*, *On Mystical Theology*, *On Celestial Hierarchy*, and *On Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, for Timothy as the addressee.

18 The only truly theological—or rather, anthropological—passage is *EpTim* 7, which briefly discusses the activity of souls after death. See Martin, "Dionysii Areopagitae," vi–vii, who uses this to date the text to the fifth or sixth century. Because it appears in the context of Paul's ability to be in a relationship with those still alive, the comment, while brief, likely engages the early Byzantine debate over saints' post-mortem activity in the world (see M. Dal Santo, *Debating the Saints' Cults in the Age of Gregory the Great* [Oxford, 2012]).

19 For introductions to fictitious epistles and collections of fictitious epistles in translation, see P. A. Rosenmeyer, *Ancient Greek Literary Letters: Selections in Translation* (New York, 2006); C. D. N. Costa, ed., *Greek Fictional Letters: A Selection with Introduction, Translation and Commentary* (New York, 2001); M. Trapp, ed., *Greek and Latin*

12 *EpTim* 1.4. See Macé and Muthreich, "Latin and Oriental Translations," 18. In my citations from *EpTim*, while the chapter number corresponds to the Syriac text reproduced in the appendix below, the line numbers correspond only to the line numbers in Macé et al., *Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita*.

13 Macé et al., *Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita*, 5.

14 *EpTim* 3.1, 3.4, 3.7, 3.10, 3.14, 3.21, 4.1, 4.5, 4.23, 4.26, 6.1, 7.1, 7.2–3, 8.6–7, 8.17, 9.1, 9.12. The Syriac text of the *EpTim* is provided in Macé et al., *Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita*, 277–336, and copied in the appendix below. All translations are my own.

15 *EpTim* 5.1.

16 See, for example, Doole, "Final Act of Paul," 90; Eastman, *Ancient Martyrdom Accounts*, 344; Baumstark, *Die Petrus- und Paulusacten*, 36; Muthreich, "Bemerkungen," 167–68. The oft-assumed adoption of the pseudonym from the pseudo-Dionysian corpus has meant that scholars rarely speculate on the author's intention in writing in the name of

regularly composed fictitious epistles, found among the first-century texts that came to form the New Testament as well as among early Byzantine apocrypha.²⁰ Scholars have suggested various motivations for such fictitious letter writing: school exercises, monetary gain, filling in the historical record, imparting moral teaching under the guise of famous personas, authorizing theological doctrine by assigning it to important past figures, and sheer entertainment.²¹ The line between openly fictitious composition and deceptive forgery is rarely clear.²² Two elements of this literary milieu bear relevance for our study of the *EpTim*: epistolary form and fictitious personas.

Letters: An Anthology with Translation (Cambridge, 2003), 27–33; M. L. Stirewalt Jr., *Studies in Ancient Greek Epistolography* (Atlanta, 1993), 20–42. The only complete collection in Greek is R. Hercher, *Epistolographi graeci* (Paris, 1873). Richard Bentley was the first to demonstrate that many of these letter collections from famous ancient philosophers, politicians, and playwrights were pseudepigraphal (*A Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris, Themistocles, Socrates, Euripides, and Others, and the Fables of Aesop* [London, 1697]).

20 For examples of pseudepigraphal epistles in the New Testament and early Christian literature, see especially the detailed compilation of B. D. Ehrman, *Forgery and Counterforgery: The Use of Literary Deceit in Early Christian Polemics* (New York, 2013). While I do not agree with Ehrman's analysis of each text, his book represents the only complete study of early Christian pseudepigraphy in English. Several early Byzantine and medieval examples can be found in T. Burke and B. Landau, eds., *New Testament Apocrypha: More Noncanonical Scriptures*, 3 vols. (Grand Rapids, MI, 2016–23), while several ancient and early Byzantine examples can be found in W. Schneemelcher, ed., *New Testament Apocrypha*, 2 vols., rev. ed. (Louisville, 1991–92), 2:42–74. Examples of fictitious early and Byzantine Christian letters discussed in these works include the Pastoral Epistles (1–2 Timothy, Titus), the Catholic Epistles (1–2 Peter, 1–3 John, James, Jude), the *Correspondence between Jesus and Abgar of Edessa*, the *Correspondence between Paul and Seneca*; the *Letter of Herod to Pilate*, the pseudo-Ignatian epistles, *Third Corinthians*, the *Epistula Apostolorum*, the *Epistle to the Laodiceans*, the *Pseudo-Titus Epistle*, and the *Epistle of Christ from Heaven*.

21 Trapp, *Greek and Latin Letters*, 28; Stirewalt, *Studies in Ancient Greek Epistolography*, 20–41; W. Speyer, *Die literarische Fälschung im heidnischen und christlichen Altertum: Ein Versuch ihrer Deutung* (Munich, 1971), 7, 12–15; P.-L. Malosse, "Éthopée et fiction épistolaire," in *Ἡθοποιία: La représentation de caractères entre fiction scolaire et réalité vivante à l'époque impériale et tardive*, ed. E. Amato and J. Schamp (Salerno, 2005), 61–78, at 72–75; Ehrman, *Forgery and Counterforgery*, 93–121.

22 Speyer, *Die literarische Fälschung*, 33–32, who contends that forgery happened and was recognized as improper in antiquity, admits that it can be difficult to tell the difference between deceptive forgery and writing understood by its audience to be fictitious.

Epistolography was considered tangential to the study and practice of rhetoric in antiquity,²³ so the precious little extant epistolary theory we have derives from brief deviations in rhetorical treatises. Yet two extant Greek handbooks on epistolary types, one Hellenistic or Roman and the other early Byzantine,²⁴ possibly created for those training to become professional letter writers, offer classifications and examples of letters for various occasions and social relationships.²⁵ The letter type that interests us is the "consolatory" (παραμυθητικός) letter, which pseudo-Demetrios defines as "that written to people who are grieving because something unpleasant has happened," and which pseudo-Libanios defines as that "in which we console someone over the troubles that befell him."²⁶ These unpleasant, troubling occasions were usually the deaths of family members. Pseudo-Demetrios offers a brief example:

When I heard of the terrible things that you met at the hands of thankless fate, I felt the deepest grief, considering that what had happened had not happened to you more than to me. When I saw all the things that assail life, all that day long I cried over them. But then I considered that such things are the common lot of all, with nature establishing neither a particular time

23 On the tangential relationship of epistolary theory to rhetorical theory, see A. J. Malherbe, *Ancient Epistolary Theorists* (Atlanta, 1988), 2; S. K. Stowers, *Letter Writing in Greco-Roman Antiquity* (Philadelphia, 1986), 34, 52. Pseudo-Demetrios of Phalerum, *On Style* 223–35 (ed. S. Halliwell, et al., *Aristotle: Poetics; Longinus: On the Sublime; Demetrius: On Style*, Loeb 199 [Cambridge, MA, 1995], 446–83), offers a discussion of epistolary style as a brief tangent to his discussion of rhetorical styles.

24 For a summary of the range of possible dates, see Malherbe, *Ancient Epistolary Theorists*, 4–5.

25 Pseudo-Demetrios of Phalerum, *Epistolary Types*, ed. V. Weichert, *Demetrii et Libanii qui feruntur Τύποι ἐπιστολικοί ἐπιστολογαίοι χαρακτήρες* (Leipzig, 1910); pseudo-Libanios, *Epistolary Styles*, ed. R. Foerster, *Libanii Opera*, vol. 9 (Leipzig, 1927). For the suggestion that these are handbooks for those training to be professional letter writers, see J. L. White, *Light from Ancient Letters* (Philadelphia, 1986), 189–90; Malherbe, *Ancient Epistolary Theorists*, 7. For their use in the Byzantine period, see H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, 2 vols. (Munich, 1978), 1:199–202.

26 Pseudo-Demetrios, *Epistolary Types* 5 (ed. Weichert, 4–5; trans. Malherbe, 35): ὁ γραφόμενος τοῖς ἐπὶ λύπῃς καθεστηκόσι δυσχεροῦς τινοῦ γεγονότος; pseudo-Libanios, *Epistolary Styles* 25 (ed. Foerster, 31; trans. Malherbe, 71): δι' ἧς παραμυθούμεθ' αὐτὰ ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβᾶσιν αὐτῷ λυπηροῖς.

nor age in which one must suffer anything, but often confronting us secretly, awkwardly, and undeservedly. Since I happened not to be present to comfort you, I decided to do so by letter. Bear, then, what has happened as lightly as you can, and exhort yourself just as you would exhort someone else. For you know that reason will make it easier for you to be relieved of your grief with the passage of time.²⁷

Note the pattern of acknowledging the recipient's grief and sharing in it, followed by a statement about the inevitability of the unfortunate event, and the exhortation to move beyond grief.²⁸

Extant ancient consolatory letters, while always unique to their occasion, adhere closely to this form.²⁹ Taking a highly learned, literary example, Basil of Caesarea's letter to Nectarius upon the death of the latter's son begins by stating that "it was not yet the third or fourth day after I had been shocked by the news of your intolerable misfortune. . . . If, therefore, we would indulge in protestations and in tears because of what has happened, the span of our lives would not suffice . . . [E]ven if the waters of the rivers should become tears, they would not suffice to satisfy our grief." Basil quickly shifts, however, to tell Nectarius that "sober reason . . . reminds us of the lot of man," and that "if, then, we permit reason to whisper to us these reminders, perchance we shall find some slight relief from our trouble. Wherefore I exhort you . . . not to fall under the weight of your grief."³⁰ From a nonelite perspective, we

have a consolatory letter from Eirene to Taonnophris and Philo preserved in POxy 116, which reads: "I was grieved and wept for the departed one as much as I wept for Didymas. . . . But, notwithstanding, one is unable to do anything against such things. Therefore, comfort one another."³¹ The consolatory formula is consistent in these letters: expression of grief, acknowledgement of the inevitability of death, and comfort for the addressee.³²

The *EpTim* follows this pattern, albeit with modifications for its unique occasion. After an initial enumeration of titles and praises for Paul, the author then launches into various expressions of grief:

My brother Timothy, that day of sadness and grief has come upon us, the day of darkness and gloom. Who, indeed, would not say with the prophet, "Who will give water to my head and streams of tears to my eyes, and I will weep day and night" about the light of the church? . . .

O my brother Timothy, bring with you Jeremiah and come to me; my heart, my heart bursts from grief and does not keep silent. Who would not clothe themselves with mourning and sadness? Who would the terrors of death not seize? Priests, put on sackcloth and lament! Wail, servants of the altar! . . .

Today is fulfilled that which the prophet said: "How the sacred stones are demolished and thrown down!" On this day is fulfilled the word of David: "They gave the corpses of your servants as food to the bird of the sky, and the flesh of your righteous ones to the wild animals."³³

The author invokes the grief shared between himself and Timothy, the addressee, using scriptural imagery and prophecy to detail the significance of Paul's death and the extent of their suffering.

27 *Epistolary Types* 5 (ed. Weichert, 5; trans. Malherbe, 35): Ἀκούσας τὰ δεινὰ τῆς ἀχαρίστου σου τύχης ἀπηντημένα καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἡγλήσα νομίσας οὐ σοὶ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐμοὶ συμβεβηκέναι τὸ γεγονός. ἐκείνην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν ἅπαντα ἰδὼν τὰ πρὸς τὸν βίον ἐστῶτα συνεφόραζον, ἐννοηθεὶς δὲ ὅτι τὰ τοιαῦτα πᾶσιν ἐστὶν ὑποκείμενα τῆς φύσεως οὔτε χρόνον οὔτε ἡλικίαν ὑφίσταμένης, καθ' ἣν δεῖ τι πάσχειν, ἀλλ' ἀδῆλως μετὰ σκαιότητος οὐκ ἀχίως πολλάκις ἀπαντώσης, ἐπεὶ μὴ παρῶν τετύχηκα παρακαλεῖν σε, δι' ἐπιστολῆς ἔκρινα τοῦτο ποιῆσαι. φέρε γοῦν τὸ γεγονός ὡς δύνῃ κοφώτατα καὶ καθὼς ἄλλω παρήνευσας, σαυτῷ παραίνεσον. ἐπιστάσαι γὰρ ὅτι τὸ μέλλον χρόνῳ κουφίει σε τοῦτο ὁ λόγος εὐμαρστερον ποιήσει.

28 On the commonplaces of ancient consolatory letters, see Stowers, *Letter Writing*, 142–44.

29 For a list of pagan and early Byzantine Christian consolatory letters, see Stowers, *Letter Writing*, 152.

30 *Letter 5* (ed. R. J. Deferrari, *Letters*, vol. 1, Loeb 190 [Cambridge, MA, 1926]), 32–39: οὐπω εἶχον τρίτην ἢ τετάρτην ἡμέραν πληγείς ἐπὶ τῇ ἀκοῇ τοῦ ἀφορήτου πάθους. . . . ἔαν μὲν οὖν ποτιάσθαι ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβῆσιν καὶ δακρύνειν βουλώμεθα, οὐκ ἐξαρκεῖαι ἡμῖν ὁ χρόνος τοῦ βίου . . . ἀλλὰ κἂν τὰ

τῶν ποταμῶν ρεύματα δάκρυον γένηται, ἐκπληρῶσαι τῶν συμβάντων τὸν θρήνον οὐκ ἐξαρκεῖται. . . . τὸν λολισμόν . . . τὸν σώφρονα . . . περιστάσειν εἰς ὑπόληψιν ἀγειν τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων. . . . ἔαν ἐπιτρέψωμεν τῷ λογισμῷ ταῦτα ἡμῖν κατεπάδειν, τάχα ἂν εὐροίμεν τινα μετρίαν τοῦ κακοῦ λύσιν. διὸ παρακαλῶ σε . . . μὴ ὑποπείναι τῷ βάρει τῆς λύπης.

31 Ed. and trans. White, *Light from Ancient Letters*, no. 116: οὕτως ἐλυπήθην καὶ ἐκλαυσα ἐπὶ τῷ εὐμοίρῳ ὡς ἐπὶ Διδυμῶτος. . . . ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδὲν δύναται τις πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα. παρηγορεῖτε οὖν ἑαυτοὺς. Brief commentary in Stowers, *Letter Writing*, 145.

32 For other examples, see Stowers, *Letter Writing*, 145–51.

33 *EpTim* 3.10–34.

After a lengthy expression of grief and a narration of Paul's martyrdom (discussed further below), however, the text turns to consoling Timothy at the end of the letter, where he asserts that they have not truly been separated from the apostles. Peter and Paul "did not separate" from each other, and their death at the hands of humans "is not [a separation] that cuts off hope, but the separation that cuts off hope is that which happens there [beyond]." For "they are with us spiritually," the author claims. That is, despite Peter and Paul's physical absence in death, Timothy (or the audience) can still experience their presence in some way. Someone whom human beings kill "comes again into a relationship (ἑλπίσας ἀπὸ τοῦ θανάτου) with those from whom he was separated," whereas "the one whom God has separated from the company of his companions, this is the eternal separation that cuts off hope, for he will never again come near any of his companions." Because Peter and Paul take rest in "blessed dwelling places" and have "immortal life," they can maintain relationships with their friends on earth, an allusion to the prayers, cult, and favors exchanged between early Byzantine Christian practitioners and their saints.³⁴

The epistle further consoles the audience by offering an anecdote that demonstrates Paul's postmortem capacity to effect miracles for devotees. After invoking his eyewitness testimony to Peter and Paul entering the city gates of Rome for their executions, "Dionysios" explains that present also as a witness to this event was a handmaiden of the household of Nero, who had a miraculous encounter with Paul:

For when he went to be martyred, he took from her a headscarf, and he said to her: "When I come [back], I will bring it to you." When he bent his head before the sword, he wrapped his face with that scarf. When those executioners returned, that girl said to them,

"Where is Paul?" They said to her: "Behold, he is killed and lying among the pagans, and your headscarf, behold, is wrapped upon his face and is spattered with his blood." She said to them: "Peter and Paul passed by here now, wearing royal clothes and crowns placed on their heads, and that headscarf that I gave to Paul he has returned to me." When she showed it to them, they were amazed, and they glorified God.³⁵

This miraculous account confirms that despite his execution, Paul has eternal life in heaven and is thus, like all early Byzantine Christian saints after death, able to aid Christians.³⁶ The woman confirms Paul's continued activity by showing the soldiers the veil miraculously in her possession and not with Paul's corpse outside the city. The author of the *EpTim* intends this as an additional means of comfort for his readers, who, although they cannot experience Paul in the flesh, can nonetheless have spiritual encounters with him.

The *EpTim* ends by giving assurance to Timothy with the hope that, just as Elisha was a faithful disciple and imitator of Elijah, so also you, Timothy, who "endured with [Paul] the tribulations and chains" and thus are "worthy of the favor of grace . . . may [Christ] reward you for all the tribulations and adversities that you bore with Paul."³⁷ This coheres with the widespread exhortations of early Byzantine preachers to imitate the martyrs' suffering in their own lives and to achieve thereby the same rewards as the martyrs.³⁸ The author

34 All quotations here are from *EpTim* 7. For the early Byzantine cult of saints, particularly the personal relationships between people and patron saints, see especially P. Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago, 1981); C. Pietri, "L'évolution du culte des saints aux premiers siècles chrétiens: Du témoin à l'intercesseur," in *Les fonctions des saints dans le monde occidental (III^e–XIII^e siècle): Actes du colloque organisé [. . .]. Rome, 27–29 octobre, 1988*, Publications de l'École française de Rome 149 (Rome, 1991), 15–36; J. C. Skedros, *Saint Demetrios of Thessaloniki: Civic Patron and Divine Protector, 4th–7th Centuries CE* (Harrisburg, PA, 1999).

35 *EpTim* 6. Similar accounts appear in pseudo-Linus, *Martyrdom of the Blessed Apostle Paul* 14, 17, and in the Greek *Acts of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul* 80, 84 (ed. and trans. Eastman, *Ancient Martyrdom Accounts*, 162–63, 166–67, and 306–7, 308–11, respectively).

36 The postmortem activity of martyrs and saints in the early Byzantine worldview is widely noted among scholars; see the compelling studies of Brown, *Cult of the Saints*; D. Frankfurter, "Where the Spirits Dwell: Possession, Christianization, and Saints' Shrines in Late Antiquity," *HTR* 103 (2010): 27–46; P. C. Miller, *The Corporeal Imagination: Signifying the Holy in Late Ancient Christianity* (Philadelphia, 2009), 18–41; Pietri, "L'évolution du culte des saints"; and R. Wiśniewski, *The Beginning of the Cult of Relics* (New York, 2019). See, however, Dal Santo, *Debating the Saints' Cults*, for debate about the saints' postmortem activity in the early Byzantine period.

37 *EpTim* 10.

38 For studies of imitation of Christian martyrs, see D. S. Fruchtmann, *Living Martyrs in Late Antiquity and Beyond: Surviving Martyrdom* (New York, 2023); P. Brown, "Enjoying the Saints in Late Antiquity," *EME* 9.1 (2000): 1–24; J. Leemans et al., eds., "Let Us Die

thus offers as an ultimate consolation for Timothy the ability to reproduce Paul's spiritual feats in his own life and to receive heavenly rewards.

The other aspect of fictitious epistolography at play in the *EpTim* is, of course, its fictitious authorship: it is written under the guise of the apostolic figure Dionysios the Areopagite. Apart from any credibility or entertainment value derived from the pseudonym, I suggest that the author was also deploying ethopoia, or speech-in-character, a technique closely linked with epistolary fiction. Aelios Theon, who wrote a manual of *progymnasmata*, rhetorical exercises to prepare students for declamation, around the late first century CE, notes in his discussion of *prosopopoiia* (= ethopoia) that "under the genus of this exercise fall the species of festival speeches and exhortation and letter writing," going on to describe "festival speeches" specifically as consolatory speeches (*παραμυθία*).³⁹ Likewise, the fifth-century Constantinopolitan rhetorician Nicolaos the Sophist writes, "To me, [this *progymnasma*] seems also to exercise us in the style of letter writing, since in that there is need of foreseeing the character of those sending letters and those to whom they are sent."⁴⁰ These theorists thus found ethopoia particularly suitable for practicing letter writing and composing consolatory speeches—precisely the form and content of the *EpTim*. P.-L. Malosse perhaps explains the relationship between ethopoia and fictitious epistolography best: "Rather than defining the one as the mother and the other as its daughter, it would be better to speak of sisters, perhaps twin sisters, that is, born of identical principles and developing in parallel, but independently."⁴¹

That We May Live: Greek Homilies on Christian Martyrs from Asia Minor, Palestine and Syria c. AD 350–450 (New York, 2003), 23.

39 Aelios Theon, *Exercises* 8 (ed. L. Spengel, *Rhetores graeci*, 3 vols [Leipzig, 1853–56], 2:115; trans. G. A. Kennedy, *Progymnasmata: Greek Textbooks of Prose Composition and Rhetoric* [Leiden, 2003], 47, slightly modified): ὑπὸ τοῦτο τὸ γένος τῆς γυμνασίας πίπτει καὶ τὸ τῶν πανηγυρικῶν λόγων εἶδος, καὶ τὸ τῶν προτρεπτικῶν, καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐπιστολικῶν.

40 Nicolaos the Sophist, *Preliminary Exercises* 10 (ed. Spengel, 3:491; trans. Kennedy, 166): ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ πρὸς τὸν ἐπιστολικὸν ἐμᾶς γυμνάζειν χαρακτῆρα, εἶγε καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῳ δεῖ τοῦ ἥθους τῶν τε ἐπιστελλόντων καὶ πρὸς οὓς ἐπιστέλλουσι, ποιεῖσθαι πρόνοιαν.

41 Malosse, "Éthopée et fiction épistolaire," 76: "Plutôt que de définir l'une comme la mère et l'autre comme sa fille, il vaudrait mieux parler de soeurs, peut-être jumelles, c'est-à-dire nées de principes identiques et se développant parallèlement, mais de façon indépendante." For other scholars who note the apparent connection between epistolary fiction and ethopoia, see Rosenmeyer, *Ancient Greek Literary*

Ancient epistolary theorists and handbook descriptions of ethopoia describe a shared goal of producing a characterization of the writer or of the inhabited persona for a particular occasion. In his tangent on epistolary style, pseudo-Demetrios proposes that "the letter, like the dialogue, should be strong in characterization [τὸ ἡθικόν]. Everyone writes a letter in the virtual image of his own soul. In every other form of speech it is possible to see the writer's character [τὸ ἥθος τοῦ γράφοντος], but in none so clearly as the letter."⁴² Just as an author of a fictitious epistle, then, would take care to produce an appropriate characterization for the feigned author according to the appropriate epistolary style for a given occasion,⁴³ so also the authors of ancient progymnasmata handbooks advise constructing a speech appropriate to a particular character and circumstance. Aelios Theon defines prosopopoiia as "the introduction of a person to whom words are attributed that are suitable to the speaker and have an indisputable application to the subject discussed." He says that the author should keep in mind the personality, age, status, origin, subject, gender, and situation of the person being ventriloquized and to adjust the assigned speech accordingly.⁴⁴ This

Letters, 6–7, 30, 54, 97, 130, 133–34; Costa, *Greek Fictional Letters*, xiv; Stowers, *Letter Writing*, 32–33; Trapp, *Greek and Latin Letters*, 28; Speyer, *Die literarische Fälschung*, 22. Letter writing eventually entered the handbooks as its own rhetorical exercise or as part of ethopoia in the Byzantine period (Hunger, *Hochsprachliche profane Literatur*, 200–201).

42 Pseudo-Demetrios, *On Style* 227 (Loeb 199:478–81): Πλείστον δὲ ἐχέτω τὸ ἡθικὸν ἢ ἐπιστολή, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ διάλογος· σχεδὸν γὰρ εἰκόνα ἑκάστος τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῆς γράφει τὴν ἐπιστολήν. καὶ ἔστι μὲν καὶ ἐξ ἄλλου λόγου παντὸς ἰδεῖν τὸ ἥθος τοῦ γράφοντος, ἐξ οὐδενὸς δὲ οὕτως, ὥς ἐπιστολῆς. This text's popularity in the Byzantine period is demonstrated by the forty-four extant Greek manuscripts and its extensive quotation by Gregory of Corinth in the eleventh century (Loeb 199:330–32).

43 We have one example of a papyrus (Papyrus Bononiensis 5) containing school exercises in producing a series of letters according to the various letter types, indicating that those who learned from such handbooks could produce fictitious letters to suit particular relationships and occasions. See the text and translation of the papyrus in Malherbe, *Ancient Epistolary Theorists*, 44–57; Stowers, *Letter Writing*, 33; White, *Light from Ancient Letters*, 189. For letter writing as a probable school exercise, see White, *Light from Ancient Letters*, 189–90; Stowers, *Letter Writing*, 32–35; Malherbe, *Ancient Epistolary Theorists*, 6–7; Stirewalt, *Studies in Ancient Greek Epistolography*, 20–24.

44 Aelios Theon, *Exercises* 8 (ed. Spengel, 2:115–16, quotation on 115; trans. Kennedy, 47–49): Προσωποιῶν ἔστι προσώπου παρεισαγωγὴ διατιθεμένου λόγου οἰκείου ἑαυτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις πράγμασιν

exercise answers the question, What would so-and-so say in such-and-such a situation? In fourth-century Antioch, Aphthonios, writing a progymnasmata handbook that became the standard in the Byzantine world, likewise refers to ethopoia as "imitation of the character of a proposed speaker."⁴⁵ The author of the *EpTim* constructed an ethopoia of a Dionysios the Areopagite, a disciple of Paul, who had just witnessed his teacher's martyrdom in Rome and was writing to Timothy to tell him the news and console him. (Appropriately, it is delivered in the form of a letter, the chosen medium of apostolic-era correspondence, such as that of Paul, Timothy, and the apostolic fathers.)

The practice of ethopoia allowed the author not only to offer a characterization of the inhabited persona, but also to convey and produce emotion in the audience. Aelios Theon states that "this exercise is most receptive of characters and emotions" and includes consolation and lament among his primary examples of how to use it.⁴⁶ Among his proposed sample characters and occasions, Hermogenes includes "emotional" (παθητικαί) examples, such as "What Andromache would say over the dead Hector" and "What Achilles would say over the dead Patroclus."⁴⁷ When Christian rhetoricians deployed this exercise throughout the Byzantine period, they created sample pieces with biblical and other Christian characters at dramatic, emotional moments in Christian history.⁴⁸ One fourth- or

fifth-century miscellany Christian manuscript, for example, bears two poetic biblical ethopoiiai: "What would Cain say after he killed Abel?" and "What would Abel say after he was killed by Cain?"⁴⁹ Such impassioned situations prompt both *ethos*, or characterization of the speaker, and *pathos*, the emotion produced by the situation, according to Hermogenes.⁵⁰ Aphthonios and Nicolaus, too, include *ethos* and *pathos* as two features of ethopoia and provide similar situations of lament as examples.⁵¹ Nicolaus says that "the expressions should be in rather short phrases and, as it were, natural, not in full periods; for to be fussy about style is alien to emotion, and it is characteristic of those in joy and grief to say one thing after another, concisely, and in few words. A person careful of beauty in diction will not seem to have suffered on such an occasion."⁵² Most interesting perhaps is John of Sardis's claim that ethopoia "makes the language alive and moves the hearer to share the

ἀναμφισβητήτως. The second-century CE rhetorician Hermogenes gives similar instructions, although he calls speech attributed to a person "ethopoia," speech attributed to a thing "prosopopeia," and speech attributed to a dead person *eidolopoeia* (Hermogenes, *Preliminary Exercises* 9 [ed. Spengel, 2:15; trans. Kennedy, 84–86]).

45 Aphthonios, *Preliminary Exercises* 11 (ed. Spengel, 2:44; trans. Kennedy, 115–16): Ἡθοποιῶν ἐστὶ μίμησις ἡθῶν ὑποκειμένου πρόσωπου. See also Nicolaos the Sophist, *Preliminary Exercises* 10 (trans. Kennedy, 164–66), and Ioannes of Sardis, *Commentary on the Progymnasmata of Aphthonios* 11 (trans. Kennedy, 213–18), who give similar definitions. For Aphthonios as the standard set of rhetorical preliminary exercises in Byzantine education, see E. Jeffreys, "Introduction," in *Rhetoric in Byzantium: Papers from the Thirty-Fifth Symposium of Byzantine Studies* [...] March 2001, ed. E. Jeffreys (Aldershot, 2003), 3; and G. A. Kennedy, *Greek Rhetoric under Christian Emperors* (Princeton, 1983), 54, 60.

46 Aelios Theon, *Exercises* 8 (ed. Spengel, 2:117; trans. Kennedy, 47–49): τοῦτο δὲ τὸ γύμνασμα μάλιστα ἡθῶν καὶ παθῶν ἐπιδεκτικὸν ἐστίν.

47 Hermogenes, *Exercises* 9 (ed. Spengel, 2:15–16; trans. Kennedy, 85, modified).

48 The twelfth-century rhetorical teacher Nikephoros Basilakes composed sample ethopoiiai on topics such as "What Joseph would

say after being accused by the Egyptian women and thrown into prison"; "What the Theotokos would say when she embraces her son, God and the Savior Christ, when he is being prepared for burial"; and "What Saint Peter would say when, after striking down Simon who was raised up into the air, he is about to be crucified upside down by Nero" (ed. and trans. J. Beneker and C. A. Gibson, *The Rhetorical Exercises of Nikephoros Basilakes: Progymnasmata from Twelfth-Century Byzantium* [Cambridge, MA, 2016], 144–49, 206–23, 224–29).

49 For an edition and French translation of these two texts, see A. Hurst and J. Rudhardt, eds. and trans., *Papyri Bodmer XXX–XXXVI: "Codex des Visions". Poèmes divers* (Munich, 1999), 119–26, 150–80, with titles on 123: τί ἂν εἴποι ὁ Καὶν ἀποκτείνας τὸν Ἀβὴλ; and 165: τί ἂν εἴποι ὁ Ἀβὴλ ἀναιρηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Καὶν. For discussion, see J.-L. Fournet, "Une éthopée de Caïn dans le Codex des Visions de la Fondation Bodmer," *ZPapEpig* 92 (1992): 253–66. C. W. Barlow, *Epistolae Senecae ad Paulum et Pauli ad Senecam (quae vocantur)* (Horn, Austria, 1938), 80–93, argues that the *Correspondence of Paul and Seneca*, a pseudepigraphal letter exchange dating no later than the fourth century, originated as a school exercise in ethopoia.

50 Hermogenes, *Preliminary Exercises* 9 (ed. Spengel, 2:15; trans. Kennedy, 85).

51 Aphthonios, *Preliminary Exercises* 11 (trans. Kennedy, 115–17); Nicolaos the Sophist, *Preliminary Exercises* 10 (trans. Kennedy, 164–66).

52 Nicolaos the Sophist, *Preliminary Exercises* 10 (ed. Spengel, 3:490; trans. Kennedy, 166): χρὴ δὲ τὴν ἀπαγγελίαν κομματικώτεραν εἶναι μᾶλλον, καὶ οἷαν πρὸς ἄλληλα μὴ περιοδικῶς συμπληροῦσθαι· τὸ γὰρ περὶ τὴν φράσιν καταγίγνεσθαι πάθους ἀλλότριον· ἴδιον δὲ καὶ χαϊρόντων καὶ θρηγούντων τὸ συντόμως καὶ διὰ βραχέων ἕτερα ἐφ' ἑτέροις ἐπάγειν οὐ δόξει οὐκ πεπονθέναι ἐν καιρῷ τοιοῦτῳ κάλλους τοῦ περὶ τὴν φράσιν ἐπιμελόμενος.

emotion of the speaker by presenting his character.”⁵³ In other words, the rhetorically constructed emotion of the person being personified is intended to create a similar emotional effect in the audience.

The *ethopoiia* of Dionysios the Areopagite in the *EpTim* contributes to its pathos, for whenever the author describes the personal, eyewitness experiences of Dionysios in the first person, he conveys the emotions he felt. Informing Timothy that “I saw [Peter and Paul]” as they were separated from each other and that he went with Paul to his execution, the author states:

O my brother Timothy, if only you had seen that wondrous struggle! But perhaps, if you were there, you would have perished from sadness. Your grief is not great because you did not see them as they went to receive their sentencing. Who would not weep at that sorrowful and sad hour, when the two were bound in chains like murderers, and the crowds pressed for that marvelous sight, and when the sober old men were mocked by unbelievers and by Jews? Who, indeed, did not weep at that hour, when myriads of myriads of mouths were spitting in their faces, when they received blows from every side, and they kept silent like innocent lambs?⁵⁴

The author explains to Timothy—who, as the recipient of the fictitious letter, also denotes the reader or auditor of the text—that because he did not witness Peter and Paul’s deaths, he does not understand the grief felt when they, as he so vividly describes, were unjustly bound, mocked, and tormented. Dionysios’s first-person witness, however, helps to translate the pathos of the saints’ martyrdom such that the audience *can* understand that grief. Peter and Paul were separated from each other with “tears, and suffering, and sadness . . . with a groan and with grief . . . with groans of death eternal,” he bemoans.⁵⁵ The author explains that as Paul lowered his head for decapitation, “[Paul’s] eyes . . . were flowing

with his tears.”⁵⁶ He laments, “Woe, my brother, for that hour, when I saw him looking to heaven and making the sign of the cross upon his holy face, and gently and without compulsion he bent his head before the sword! Woe, woe, my brother, for that hour when I saw him sprinkled with his own blood!”⁵⁷ Having recounted Paul’s martyrdom, at which he states he was present, the author expresses to the reader the state of utter anguish he felt at the sight of Paul’s bloodied body, using *ethopoiia* to prescribe an appropriate emotional reaction for the audience.

The author of the *EpTim* thus wrote a fictitious consolatory letter from Dionysios the Areopagite to Timothy in which he deployed the rhetorical technique of *ethopoiia* to characterize Dionysios and to narrate an eyewitness account of Paul’s martyrdom that would cultivate an emotional response in its audience. The author thereby created an immediacy that might otherwise be lacking due to the passage of time between Paul’s death and an early Byzantine rendition of his martyrdom.

Yet, while certain features of the *EpTim* described above—the sender and addressee, the consolatory framework, and the development of character and emotion—comply with the prescribed form of a consolatory epistle, certain other features do not. In particular, the author’s woes and laments for the deceased Paul, briefly touched on above, are rather extensive, beyond what was recommended for a consolatory letter. Ancient epistolary theory frequently mused about the appropriate length for various epistolary types, mostly offering the vague advice that a letter should be neither too long nor too short.⁵⁸ In one discussion of epistolary length, however, the fourth-century author Julius Victor reflects specifically on the length of consolatory letters: “Be profuse in congratulating someone on his success so as to heighten his joy, but console (*consolare*) someone who is grieving with a few words, for a wound bleeds when touched by a heavy hand.”⁵⁹ The *EpTim* does

53 Ioannes of Sardis, *Commentary on the Progymnasmata of Aphthonios* 11 (ed. H. Rabe [Leipzig, 1928], 194; trans. Kennedy, 213): ἐμψυχεν γὰρ τὸν λόγον ποιεῖ καὶ κινεῖ πρὸς συμπάθειαν τὸν ἀλρωμένον, τὸ ἥως τοῦ λέγοντος παριστώσα.

54 *EpTim* 6.2–3, 4.25, 4.5–12.

55 *EpTim* 4.13–15.

56 *EpTim* 4.27–28.

57 *EpTim* 4.28–30.

58 Pseudo-Demetrios, *On Style* 228; Gregory of Nazianzos, *Ep.* 51; pseudo-Libanios, *Epistolary Styles* 49–50 (ed. Foerster, 34–35; trans. Malherbe, 73).

59 Julius Victor, *The Art of Rhetoric* 27 (ed. C. Halm, *Rhetores Latini minores* [Leipzig, 1863], 448; trans. J. Neyrey, in Malherbe, *Ancient Epistolary Theorists*, 63): *Rem secundam prolixius gratulare, ut illius gaudium extollas: cum offendas dolentem, pauculis consolare, quod ulcus*

not appear to follow this advice, for it extends beyond statements of shared grief to mourn Paul at length, and it exhibits several characteristics of epideictic speeches that were delivered orally upon people's deaths.⁶⁰ In order to contextualize fully the rhetoric of the *EpTim*, we must therefore look also to consolatory speeches.

EpTim as Consolatory Speech (παραμυθητικός λόγος)

The rhetorical and ritual practice of lament has had a long history in Greece, dating as far back as the archaic period.⁶¹ Despite occasional legislation against such displays of grief,⁶² accusations of its effeminacy and irrationality,⁶³ and efforts to moderate it through communal ceremony,⁶⁴ ritual lament, both private

etiam, cum plana manu tangitur, cruentatur. Stowers, *Letter Writing*, 143, also notes that "letters of consolation were generally much shorter and more personal than consolatory speeches."

60 Stowers, *Letter Writing*, 143, says that sometimes "writers followed the form of consolatory speech or the funeral speech in more elaborate letters," citing Paulinus of Nola's *Ep.* 13 as an example. Several other early Byzantine consolatory letters bear content and length more befitting of encomiastic or consolatory speeches, e.g., Jerome, *Letters* 39, 60, 66, and Ambrose, *Letter* 15.

61 The earliest references to public speech at deaths and funerals comes from Homer in the form of θρήνοι, mourning songs composed by nonkinsmen, and γόοι, spontaneous, antiphonal grieving of the immediate family; M. Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition*, 2nd ed. (Lanham, MD, 2002), 10–23; K. Derderian, *Leaving Words to Remember: Greek Mourning and the Advent of Literacy* (Leiden, 2001), 15–62. By the classical period, particularly in the funeral speeches from the Peloponnesian War, we see the ἐπιτάφιος λόγος, a composed funeral speech that focuses on the communal aspects of the person and his death and his ability to live on through the advancements of the polis (Derderian, *Leaving Words to Remember*, 161–88).

62 Alexiou, *Ritual Lament*, 14–23; Derderian, *Leaving Words to Remember*, 169–71.

63 L. P. McCauley et al., trans., *Funeral Orations by Saints Gregory Nazianzen and Saint Ambrose* (Washington, DC, 1953), vii–xvi. From a Latin perspective, Cicero offers one of the best examples of such critique. In his *Tusculan Disputations*, he discusses only how to console the bereft, and he derides lament as a failure to recognize the inevitability of death. He says that whether death is like sleep, or brings the soul closer to the gods, or causes the soul to lose sensation if it is mortal, the soul is nonetheless freed from the body and experiences good and not evil in death. It makes little sense, then, for people to lament the dead (book 1). The soul, he says, has a rational part and a non-rational part, and the rational part should have control over the irrational part and not let it give in to tears (book 2.21).

64 D. J. Ochs, *Consolatory Rhetoric: Grief, Symbol, and Ritual in the Greco-Roman Era* (Columbia, SC, 1993), 68, 74–77, 94–95,

and public, always persisted in Hellenistic rhetoric and practice. Even after early Byzantine Christian thinkers adapted earlier rationalistic arguments against lament to their new Christian worldview,⁶⁵ ritual lament remained a cultural practice. Several scholars, including Susan Ashbrook Harvey, Maria Doerfler, and Christopher Sweeney, have recently argued that these varying ancient views on grief created tension between elite intellectual discourses on restrained mourning and practical, often liturgical, expressions of grief among Greek- and Syriac-speaking Christians. While homilists such as Gregory of Nyssa show contempt for lament practices in light of the logic that it is fortunate to go on to live with Christ in God's kingdom, other Christians deeply mourned the deaths of biblical heroes, saints, and Christ via liturgical poetry that offered emotional, affective portraits of tragedy and mourning.⁶⁶ Through these hymns and homilies, Harvey argues, people could mourn their own losses vicariously through lament for these holy figures, and because the mourning was placed in the triumphal arc of the liturgy, mourners were ultimately refreshed by the Eucharist.⁶⁷ The *EpTim*,

and 111–15. As Laura Lieber concisely explains, "Eulogies socialize the participants in restraint, while laments loosen societal restrictions" ("Stages of Grief: Enacting Lamentation in Late Ancient Hymnography," *AJS Review* 40 [2016]: 101–24, at 123).

65 Particularly by the fourth century, bishops felt that since a person was ultimately escaping the fleshly world and reaching heaven in death, mourning was illogical. Indeed, Gregory of Nazianzus's funeral orations for his sister Gorgonia and his brother Caesarius are virtually devoid of lament, which he calls excessive and opposed to philosophy and Christian piety (Gregory of Nazianzus, *On His Brother, St. Caesarius* 5, 15 [trans. McCauley et al., 8, 16]). Christian reason thus dictates, for Gregory, that the soul attains heaven in death, and so it would be irrational to mourn the dead like pagans.

66 See S. A. Harvey, "Guiding Grief: Liturgical Poetry and Ritual Lamentation in Early Byzantium," in *Greek Laughter and Tears: Antiquity and After*, ed. M. Alexiou and D. Cairns (Edinburgh, 2017), 199–216; M. Doerfler, *Jephthah's Daughter, Sarah's Son: The Death of Children in Late Antiquity* (Oakland, 2019); C. Sweeney, "Grief and the Cross: Popular Devotion and Passion Piety from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages" (PhD diss., Fordham University, 2020). I also thank S. Shoemaker for his paper, "Early Passion Piety and the Origins of Marian Lament at the Monastery of Mar Saba," given in Baton Rouge, LA, on 16–17 January 2023. In another vein, for an interesting study of the continuity of traditional perspectives on death as observed in funerary epitaphs, I thank M. Peppard for sharing with me his paper, "Is No One Immortal? Greek Epitaphs and Early Christian Adaptations," given at the North American Patristics Society annual conference in May 2022.

67 Harvey, "Guiding Grief."

much like early Byzantine liturgical lament poetry, uses the commonplaces of consolatory lament speeches to cultivate an emotional experience in its consumers—in this case, sorrow and longing for Saint Paul, the primary subject of the text.

Menander Rhetor, whose third- or fourth-century treatise *On Epideictic Speeches* was influential in the Byzantine period,⁶⁸ describes παραμυθητικός λόγος as a speech in which one first “personally laments the fallen one and builds up the magnitude of the calamity by amplifying the suffering as much as he can.”⁶⁹ This is followed by consolation, where the speaker philosophizes on the inescapability of death, praises the deceased, and notes the fortune of passing on to be with the gods in order to comfort the family.⁷⁰ This sequence of an extended lament followed by consolation is much like the format of the *EpTim*.

Like fictitious letter writing, lament speeches bear strong ties with ethopoiia since many ancient and Byzantine sample ethopoiia are laments of famous historical figures over their deceased loved ones. Recall that Aelios Theon lists consolation as one type of ethopoiia: he advises practitioners to offer consolation similar to that advised by epistolary and epideictic handbooks by noting the inevitability of death, that others have suffered even more greatly, and that grief does no good, offering laments followed by exhortation.⁷¹ Examples of lament ethopoiiai from Libanios, possibly a contemporary of the author of the *EpTim*, include “What words would Andromache say over the dead Hector?” “What words would Achilles say

over the dead Patroclus?” “What words would Niobe say when her children lie dead?” and “What words would Menelaus say after learning about the death of Agamemnon?”⁷² We shall see below that Libanios’s sample lament ethopoiiai share rhetorical techniques and commonplaces with the *EpTim*. Ethopoiia was an effective means by which a rhetorical student could practice composing a consolatory lament speech—or, in our case, compose a fictitious consolatory speech for hagiographical purposes.

As a consolatory speech in the voice of Dionysios the Areopagite, the *EpTim* deploys the rhetorical techniques and commonplaces of classical and Byzantine lament speeches: contrasting past time, when Paul was alive, with present time, now that he is dead; framing Dionysios and Timothy, his disciples, as orphans; addressing the deceased in second-person speech; reflecting antiphonal lament practices by posing questions to the reader; and using sensory language to create an affective longing. We will examine each of these in turn.

In a famous study of Greek lament, Margaret Alexiou demonstrates that a common feature of lament was to contrast the past with the present, the deceased while they were alive with their present absence. In lament literature, frequently one clause contains a word for “before” or “then” followed by “but now” (νῦν δέ).⁷³ Menander also explains how to divide a consolation speech temporally, including references to past, present, and future. He says that “the speech is more moving (κινητικώτερος) if a speaker expresses pity over . . . what is now the situation,” followed by reflection on “the time gone by,” such as the character of a person in their younger years, and then ending with musings on the future, such as “what hopes his family had for him.”⁷⁴ The *EpTim* uses this temporal contrast several times, contrasting Paul’s deeds in life with his present and future inability to perform them. In one instance, he says,

68 Jeffreys, “Introduction,” 2–3; Martha Vinson, “Rhetoric and Writing Strategies in the Ninth Century,” in Jeffreys, *Rhetoric in Byzantium*, 9–22; W. H. Race, ed., *Menander Rhetor; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Ars Rhetorica*, Loeb 539 (Cambridge, MA, 2019), 6.

69 Menander Rhetor, *On Epideictic Speeches* 2.8.1 (Loeb 539:262–63): ὁδύρεται μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν πεπτωκότα καὶ ἐπὶ μέγεθος ἐγείρει τὴν συμφορὰν, αὖξων ὡς οἶόν τε ἐστι τῷ λόγῳ τὸ πάθος.

70 Menander Rhetor, *On Epideictic Speeches* 2.8.3 (Loeb 539:264–65). This is in contrast to other lament speeches Menander describes, including the ἐπιτάφιος λόγος, the speech given every year in Athens to the wartime deceased that focuses on the political benefit the fallen offered to the community (Menander, *On Epideictic Speeches* 2 [Loeb 539:278–98]) and the μονωδία, a brief poem “to lament and express one’s own grief” (θρηγεῖν καὶ κατοικτιζεσθαι) in the immediate throes of a death. Menander insists that the main thrust of this latter speech is lament, with encomiastic topics merely prompting grief (Menander, *On Epideictic Speeches* 2.15 [Loeb 539:326–33, quotation on 326–27]).

71 Aelios Theon, *Exercises* 8 (trans. Kennedy, 48–49).

72 Libanios, *Progymnasmata*, Speech in Character 2, 3, 8, and 21 (ed. and trans. C. A. Gibson, *Libanios’s Progymnasmata: Model Exercises in Greek Prose Composition and Rhetoric* [Atlanta, 2008], 361, 365, 381, 407).

73 Alexiou, *Ritual Lament*, 165–71.

74 Menander, *On Epideictic Speeches*, 2.15.5–6 (Loeb 539:328–31): μᾶλλον γὰρ ὁ λόγος κινητικώτερος εἰ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπ’ ὄψιν καὶ τῶν νῦν συμβάντων οἰκτιζοῖ τις. . . . Εἴτα ἀπὸ τοῦ παρελθυθότος χρόνου. . . . Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ μέλλοντος, οἷας εἶχεν ἐλπίδας ἐπ’ αὐτῷ τὸ γένος.

Now (𐤊𐤌) that swift running of yours [Timothy] has ceased. No longer is "My son and my beloved" written to you by these holy hands. No longer is "May you come to one of the cities" sent to you.

My brother Timothy, have you heard where your father Paul is? Today (𐤊𐤌) the word of our Lord is fulfilled, which says: "Amen, I say to you that you will long to see an hour from your teacher."⁷⁵

The author reminds Timothy (read: the audience) of the greetings and requests Paul made to Timothy in

75 *EpTim* 3.5–9. Compare Libanios, *Progymnasmata*, Speech in Character 2.2–4 (ed. and trans. Gibson, 362–63, "What words would Andromache say over the dead Hector?"): "That man [Hector] used to keep Troy safe. By whom, then, will it be saved now? . . . I had a father and a mother in the palace. . . . To these was added something else greater: my husband Hector. . . . I looked upon him, I was happy. . . . And so we should have arrived at old age through the same fortune, but this harsh man Achilles did not allow it" (ἐκεῖνος ἔσωζε τὸ ἴλιον. πόθεν οὖν ἔτι σωθήσεται; . . . ἦν μοι πατὴρ καὶ μήτηρ ἐν βασιλείοις . . . τούτοις προσεγένετο μείζον ἕτερον, σύνοικος Ἐκτωρ . . . ἐβλεπόμην, εὐδαιμονιζόμην. . . . ἔδει μὲν οὖν μέχρι γήρωος δι' ὁμοίας ἀφικέσθαι τῆς τύχης, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἶασεν ὁ χαλεπὸς οὗτος Ἀχιλλεύς); Libanios, *Progymnasmata*, Speech in Character 3.1–2 (ed. and trans. Gibson, 364–65, "What words would Achilles say over the dead Patroclus?"): "I expected to welcome you back victorious, but now I mourn you dead. . . . No longer will I see you, my beloved companion. . . . But I will remember the good times before" (ἐγὼ μὲν ἡλπίζον σε νενικηκότα δέχεσθαι, νυνὶ δὲ τετελευτηκότα θρηνῶ . . . οὐκέτι γὰρ ὄψομαι σε τὸν φιλέταιρον . . . ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀναμνησκόμεαι τῶν πρότερον ἀγαθῶν, τῶν τότε); Libanios, *Progymnasmata*, Speech in Character 2.1.3–5 (ed. and trans. Gibson, 408–9, "What words would Menelaus say upon learning of the death of Agamemnon?"): "O, unfortunate am I in present circumstances! To what sort of change have matters come for me! Formerly I was splendid and distinguished among everyone in glory, holding the scepter in common with Agamemnon and leading all of Greece. . . . But now he has perished. . . . He lies dead, having fallen, while I, being hindered by the vast sea . . . have not yet been able to set foot in my homeland" (ὦ δυστυχῆς ἐγὼ τῶν παρόντων. εἰς οἷαν ἀφίκεται μοι τὰ πράγματα μεταβολήν. πρότερον μὲν λαμπρὸς ἦν καὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἐπίσημος τῇ δόξῃ κοινὰ πρὸς Ἀγαμέμνονα σκῆπτρα ἔχων καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπάσης ἡγούμενος . . . νῦν δὲ ὁ μὲν οἴχεται. . . . μὲν κείται πεσὼν, ἐγὼ δὲ πολλῇ θαλάττῃ κατεχόμενος . . . οὐπω δεδύνημαι τῆς οἰκείας ἐπιβῆναι). Cf. also Aphthonios, *Exercises* 11 (ed. Spengel, 2:46; trans. Kennedy, 116–17, "What words Niobe might say when her children lie dead"): "How great is the change in my fortune!—childless now, once seemingly blessed with children. . . . Before entering rivalry with Leto I was a mother to be envied. . . . Now my lot is one of weeping for each child" (Οἷαν ἀνθ' οἷας ἀλάσσομαι τύχην ἅπαις ἢ πρὶν εὖπαι δοκοῦσα; . . . πρὶν εἰς πείραν ἀφικέσθαι Λητοῦς ὀλιγωτέρᾳ μήτηρ ὑπῆρχον . . . καὶ νῦν ἑκατέρων παιδῶν κείται μοι γόος).

the epistles he wrote during his lifetime, in which he expresses an intimate relationship with his disciple, calling him his "son" and summoning him to be with him. The author abruptly states, with the Syriac equivalent of νῦν δέ (𐤊𐤌), that Timothy need not respond to Paul's summons any longer and that Paul will no longer write him letters or be present for his disciples to look upon, highlighting their separation due to Paul's death.

Later he goes on,

Now (𐤊𐤌) put away all your books, my brother Timothy. Who will explain to us the obscure words of the prophets? Now say, like Amos did: "I am an unlearned shepherd."

No longer (𐤊𐤌 𐤃𐤀𐤁) is there need for you to serve him in his chains; no longer do you ponder his blessed writings; no longer is it sent to you: "he is imprisoned and being beaten." No longer do they trouble you that he is in great danger; no longer is "Paul, a prisoner of Jesus Christ" sent to you; no longer does he have need of you; no longer are you announced in the cities: "Receive my son and my beloved."⁷⁶

Again, the author repeatedly contrasts Paul's interpretation of scripture, his personal requests of his disciples in his letters, and his need for followers to come to his aid with his present inability to write anything, building up the emotional effect on the audience, as Menander prescribed.

Once more the author contrasts Paul's past interpretive instruction in the scriptures and his present absence. Directly addressing Paul, the author mourns, "Now we do not run to Rome. No longer do we say: 'Come, let us go to Paul and let us hear interpretations from him.' No longer are the prophets searched by us, for there are no interpreters of their books. To whom have you committed your disciples, O teacher of truth?"⁷⁷ Again, the ability of his disciples to be in the immediate physical and verbal presence of Paul and to learn from him directly is contrasted with his current absence, as the author rhetorically questions the deceased Paul to whom they should now turn as a teacher. This repeated disparity between past intimacy with Paul and Paul's absence after his death builds up the audience's grief over their loss.

76 *EpTim* 3.14–20.

77 *EpTim* 5.19–21.

Another common feature of lament speeches is to bemoan that the deceased has left the living orphaned.⁷⁸ Menander says that if a relative of the deceased performs a *μονωδία*, a related type of lament poem to which he refers often when describing the consolation speech, “the speaker should pity himself no less, either because he has been left an orphan (*ὀρφανός*), or because he has lost an excellent father and bewails the emptiness that is now his.”⁷⁹ The author of the *EpTim* waxes mournful because Paul, a “father of orphans and husband of widows,” has left Timothy and the rest bereft of a parent.⁸⁰ He asks Timothy, “Where is your spiritual father? Where is your teacher, O disciple who loves his teacher? . . . Now you have become a bereaved orphan (*ἄνθρωπος ὀρφανός*), O our brother Timothy.”⁸¹ By calling Paul a father to the letter’s recipient and lamenting their loss of intimacy, the author constructs an emotional relationship between Paul and the audience. Again, in a bout of lament, he says, “Woe, our spiritual father, for this death, [of which] you are worthy! Woe, our father, woe to me because of you, my teacher! Woe to me, whom you have left behind alone (*ἄνθρωπος ὀρφανός*)! . . . Today the journeys of your disciples from Rome are killed. Today your disciples are orphans (*ὀρφανοί*).”⁸² The author not only focuses on the fate of the deceased, but also prescribes a state of being for his audience: Paul is gone, leaving his disciples as orphans, a metaphor that heightens the stakes of the loss for the listeners.

Lament speeches also frequently juxtapose the deceased and the mourner through an interchange of second-person addresses and first-person expressions, enhancing the contrast between the deceased’s past with the mourner’s present condition.⁸³ This technique appears in the *EpTim*, as the author addresses Timothy but then abruptly shifts to a direct address to Paul, the dead apostle. After informing Timothy of Peter’s and Paul’s deaths and giving his eyewitness testimony to

Paul’s decapitation, he then launches into a lengthy series of second-person invocations and inquiries directed at Paul, interspersed with woes for himself:

Woe, our spiritual father, for this death, [of which] you are worthy! Woe, our father, woe to me because of you, my teacher! Woe to me, whom you have left behind alone! Woe to me, whither shall I go? Woe to me, where shall I seek you? Woe to me because of you, glory of Christians! Woe to me because of you, teacher of the gentiles! Who silenced your spiritual lyre, divine poet? How shall I go to your disciples, O true and faithful teacher? What report shall I give from you to them? That you are imprisoned or that you are bound? What shall I send from them to you? What do you need from them? What is required by you from them? Now (*ἄνθρωπος*) you require not even one thing from them.

O chains, which were loosened after two years! From Jerusalem you received your chains, and in Rome they were loosened from you. David mourned and said: “Woe, my son, woe, my son!” And now thus I have to say: “Woe, my teacher, woe, my teacher!” . . . How many churches are awaiting now your reply? How many priests wait now for your greeting? And how many persuasive epistles now bear your greeting? . . . Who calms the angry? Now who interprets the scriptures for us? . . . To whom have you committed your disciples, O teacher of truth?⁸⁴

78 Derderian, *Leaving Words to Remember*, 38, 41, 49, 181–88.

79 Menander, *On Epideictic Speeches*, 2.15.2 (Loeb 539:326–27): οὐδὲν ἤττον καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ λέγων οἰκτίσεται ἢ ὅτι ὀρφανὸς καταλείπεται ἢ ὅτι ἀρίστου πατρὸς ἐστέρηται καὶ τὴν ἐρημίαν ὁδύρεται τὴν ἑαυτοῦ αὐτός.

80 *EpTim* 2.12–13.

81 *EpTim* 3.1–4.

82 *EpTim* 5.1–17.

83 Alexiou, *Ritual Lament*, 171–77; Derderian, *Leaving Words to Remember*, 15–62.

84 *EpTim* 5.1–21. Cf. Libanios, *Progymnasmata*, Speech in Character 2.4–5 (ed. and trans. Gibson, 362–63, “What words would Andromache say . . . ?”): “[Achilles] brought down my father; he murdered my brothers. . . . And these things were terrible, but you made my misfortunes bearable, Hector, and you alone provided what all of them had before. . . . But you were murdered; you received the blow. I am done for; I have perished” (κατήνεγκέ μοι τὸν πατέρα, ἀπέσφαξε τοὺς ἀδελφούς . . . καὶ ταῦτα δεινὰ μὲν, φορητὰ δὲ ἐποίησας, Ἐκτορ, τὰ δυστυχήματα καὶ τὰ πάντων παρείχες μόνος καὶ ὧν ἐστερόμην, ὥμην εἶναι μοι διὰ σέ. ἀλλ’ ἀπεσφάγης, ἐδέξω τὴν πληγὴν. ὥχόμεθα, ἀπολώλαμεν); Libanios, *Progymnasmata*, Speech in Character 3.1 (ed. and trans. Gibson, 364–65, “What words would Achilles say . . . ?”): “Alas for my present misfortune! You have fallen, Patroclus. For one kind of hope you were sent out, but a different kind of fortune you experienced” (Οἴμοι τῆς παρούσης συμφορᾶς. πέπτωκας, Πάτροκλε. ἐφ’ ἐτέραις μὲν ἐπέμποι ταῖς ἐλπίσιν, ἐτέρας δὲ τῆς τύχης ἐπειράθης).

These direct addresses to Paul mediate the presence of the deceased apostle and highlight all his past virtues and actions. The author speaks to Paul in the second person in reference to his past existence and his death: his voice, instruction, imprisonment, bondage, and correspondence with his churches. But when he asks Paul what he wants from his churches, recalling the requests Paul made of his congregations in his letters to them, "Now" (νῦν), he exclaims, "you require not even one thing from them." Nor is Paul present to instruct, to comfort, or to correspond with his disciples. Interspersed with pleading questions and woes, the author presents Dionysios at a loss, distraught over the demise of his spiritual mentor, in an effort to create a similar sense of bereavement in the audience.

Greek lament literature frequently took the form of poetry and hymnody, with the earliest evidence indicating antiphonal structures and dialogical interchange between groups of singers and mourners, a feature that persisted in early Byzantine lament hymnography.⁸⁵ Thus, a prominent feature of lament was the question-and-answer format,⁸⁶ according to which the author of the *EpTim* supplies various questions awaiting response all through the epistle. The following are strings of interrogative sentences found throughout the *EpTim* that have not already been quoted fully above:

My brother Timothy, where is your spiritual father? Where is your teacher, O disciple who loves his teacher? From where do you bring us greetings from him? From sea or from land? From Galatia or from Spain? From Asia or from Corinth? . . . My brother Timothy, have you heard where your father Paul is?⁸⁷

Where is the running of Paul? . . . Where are those holy hands? . . . Where is his holy body, the recipient of scourges and bearer of torments? Where is that eloquent mouth and that skilled tongue? Where is that wisdom of wisdoms? Where is that philosophical eloquence and that soul clothed with God?⁸⁸

85 Alexiou, *Ritual Lament*, 131–64. This continues in Christian liturgical lament, as shown by Harvey, "Guiding Grief," and Doerfler, *Jephthah's Daughter*.

86 Alexiou, *Ritual Lament*, 137–38.

87 *EpTim* 3.1–7.

88 *EpTim* 3.35–45.

Who would not weep? And who would not mourn?⁸⁹

Who is so inconsiderate that when he sees Simon hanging upon the cross head downwards, he does not faint from sadness?⁹⁰

Where is Paul? Where is Peter? Where are these divine theologians? Where are these true sons of God?⁹¹

89 *EpTim* 4.

90 *EpTim* 4.23–24.

91 *EpTim* 8.7–11. See also quotations above, pp. 205–6. For lengthy series of questions in lament literature, cf. Libanios, *Progymnasmata*, Speech in Character 8.1–4 (ed. and trans. Gibson, 380–81, "What words would Niobe say . . .?"): "O gods and divinities, where did these many arrows come from, both terrible and all against my children? Alas, for the evils! I have utterly lost all my twelve children. . . . Whom am I to embrace first? Whom am I to lament second? To whom am I to go third? Whom am I to pass over? Whom am I to lay hold of? Where am I to find a multitude of tears sufficient for twelve corpses? What will be the manner of the funeral? Will it be necessary to carry them all as a group and for bier to follow bier, or to bury one and then run to the next? Will there be one tomb for all, or one for each, and will there be twelve markers and so many epitaphs? O, for the strange suffering! . . . What divinity made war on us?" (ὦ θεοὶ καὶ δαίμονες, πόθεν ταυτὶ τὰ πολλὰ βέλη καὶ δεινὰ καὶ πάντα κατὰ τῶν ἐμῶν παίδων; φεῦ τῶν κακῶν. ἀπολώλεκα τοὺς ἐμαυτῆς ἅπαντας τοὺς δώδεκα . . . τίني πρῶτον περιχυθῶ; τίνα κλαύσω δεύτερον; ἐπὶ τίνα ἔλθω τρίτον; τίνα ὑπερβῶ; τίνος ἄψωμαι; πόθεν ἂν μοι γένοιτο πλῆθος δακρύων ἀποχρῶν νεκροῖς δώδεκα; τίς ἔσται τῆς ἐκφορᾶς ὁ τρόπος; ἀθρόους δεήσει κομίζειν καὶ κλίνην κλίνην ἀκολουθεῖν ἢ τὸν μὲν θάπτειν, ἐφ' ἕτερον δὲ τρέχειν; εἰς ἔσται τάφος ἅπασιν ἢ καθ' ἕκαστον εἰς, καὶ δώδεκα στήλαι καὶ τοσαῦτα ἐπιγράμματα; ὃ καινοῦ πάθους); Libanios, *Progymnasmata*, Speech in Character 3.4–7 (ed. and trans. Gibson, 364–67, "What words would Achilles say . . .?"): "Who will fill your post for me? With what sort of eyes am I to see your father, whenever I return, having left you behind here dead? . . . But why do I say all this, a man stripped of his arms, when I have lost along with the most valuable to me of all my companions the security that I had in arms, in which the most hateful man of all now gleams brightly? Where, then, will I find a source of arms?" (τίς μοι τὴν σὴν πληρώσει τάξιν; ποίοις ἂν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἴδοιμι τὸν σὸν πατέρα, ὅταν ἐνθάδε κείμενόν σε καταλελοιπῶς ἀνέλθω; . . . ἀλλὰ τί ταῦτα λέγω γυμνὸς ὅπλων ἄνθρωπος τῷ πάντων μοι τῶν ἐταίρων τιμωτάτῳ τὴν ἐμὴν διὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἀσφάλειαν συναπολωλεκώς, ἐφ' ἣ νῦν ὁ πάντων ἐχθιστος φαιδρύνεται; πόθεν οὖν ὅπλων εὐπορήσομεν); Libanios, *Progymnasmata*, Speech in Character 2.2 (ed. and trans. Gibson, 362–63, "What words would Andromache say . . .?"): "By whom, then, will [Troy] be saved now? Everything has perished and has been destroyed. And I have become the most miserable of women. What sort of happiness did the divinity let me taste, only to deprive me of it?" (πόθεν οὖν ἔτι σωθήσεται; ἔρρει πάντα καὶ διέφθαρται. καὶ γέγονα γυναικῶν ἀθλιωτάτῃ. οἷός με γεύσας ὁ δαίμων εὐδαιμονίας ἀπεστέρησεν).

While the *EpTim* is not an antiphonal hymn, it incorporates an antiphonal element when the author addresses these questions to the fictitious recipient, or to whichever audience consumes the letter, emotionally incorporating them into the event of Paul's death as they contemplate the answers to these questions. By listening to "Dionysios" lament the death of Paul and ask "Timothy" how they will cope with it, the reader is drawn emotionally into the situation.

Finally, the author of the *EpTim* uses what Patricia Cox Miller terms the "corporeal imagination" in order that "the invisible bod[y]" of Saint Paul "take on visual and tactile presence." Similarly to early Byzantine preaching, the *EpTim* uses "textual images whose ocular and affective immediacy contributes to, or even creates, the religious significance of the thing that is their focus."⁹² Namely, by describing the body of Paul, the author makes that body ambiguously present, thereby creating a corporeal and emotional response in the audience.⁹³ Harvey notes that sensory rhetoric is a common theme in late ancient liturgical lament hymnography and homiletics, working "to enhance the tragic experiences suffered by the character. . . . Emotions were conveyed through sensory encounters: the sounds of wailing, groans or weeping; the taste of bitterness; the loss of intimate touch. Such imagery also elicited emotion in the listeners."⁹⁴

Throughout the *EpTim*, the author consistently conjures imagery of Paul's hands, feet, mouth, and body, while simultaneously stressing that they are no longer present. The author informs Timothy that Paul will no longer write to him, "'My son and my beloved' . . . by these holy hands."⁹⁵ In addition to mentioning the letters Paul wrote to Timothy, the author conjures an image of Paul's hands actually writing them. "Where are these holy hands?," the author asks, recalling, "How many divine epistles they wrote! In how many chains they were bound! How many bonds they received from the Jews!"⁹⁶ Likewise, he calls to mind Paul's "holy feet,"

which are no longer "thrown in the stocks in prison; no longer are they bound or chained; no longer do they travel to barbarian lands; no longer do they enter cities and islands; no longer do they hang the sail; and they do not enter the torture device. How many lands he entered! How many cities! On how many roads he walked!"⁹⁷ The author simultaneously conjures images of Paul's corporeal suffering and his travels, while noting that such activity will no longer occur. Finally, he asks, "Where is his holy body, the recipient of scourges and bearer of torments? Where is that eloquent mouth and that skilled tongue?"⁹⁸ The author calls to mind Paul's bodily suffering, as well as the apostle's particular aptitude for verbal instruction. In addition to producing images of Paul's body writing, preaching, traveling, and being tormented, the author notes that Jesus's statement has been fulfilled: "Amen, I say to you that you will long to see an hour from your teacher," thereby highlighting the reader's separation from Paul's physical person.⁹⁹

The *EpTim*, then, while in the form of a letter, contains an extended section of mourning for Paul that has characteristics of lament speeches. Contrasts between past, present, and future; use of second-person addresses to the deceased; open-ended questions; the theme of orphanage; and sensory rhetoric align with the commonplaces of a consolatory speech as prescribed by Menander and as deployed in ethopoia samples produced by rhetoricians roughly contemporary to the text. The author thus expertly utilized the form of the consolatory speech to induce a sense of loss and grief in his audience.

Conclusion: Affective Hagiography

A rhetorical analysis of the *EpTim* offers a clear picture of the function of this pseudepigraphal letter. Consolatory letters and speeches, along with the practice of ethopoia to which they were tightly bound, offered orators a means of expressing either their own or a fictitious persona's emotions and of producing and engaging similar emotions in their audience. The *EpTim* is a consolatory speech in the form of a letter written in the character of Dionysios the Areopagite on the occasion of Paul's martyrdom. Since Paul is

92 Miller, *Corporeal Imagination*, 8.

93 Miller, *Corporeal Imagination*, 104.

94 Harvey, "Guiding Grief," 205. See also on sensory rhetoric, Harvey, "Locating the Sensing Body: Perception and Religious Identity in Late Antiquity," in *Religion and the Self in Late Antiquity*, ed. D. Brakke et al. (Bloomington, 2005), 140–62, at 140–46.

95 *EpTim* 3.5–6.

96 *EpTim* 3.40–42.

97 *EpTim* 3.35–40.

98 *EpTim* 3.42–43.

99 *EpTim* 3.8–9.

the primary subject of the letter, the author aimed to express and produce in its audience emotions of sorrow and longing for Paul, a beloved and prominent saint throughout the Mediterranean by the sixth century, while ultimately offering its consumers consolation for their loss.¹⁰⁰

The mournful tone of this letter contrasts with typical early Byzantine hagiographies and homilies on saints and martyrs. Most such literature, in both Greek and Syriac, focuses on praising the martyrs, is structured according to Hellenistic encomiastic topoi that proceed from origins through life and virtues to death, and urges audiences to rejoice in the martyrs' deaths rather than to mourn for them.¹⁰¹ The *EpTim*, on the other hand, does hagiography in a radically different way.¹⁰² It uses

not straightforward biography or encomium to honor Paul and present him as a model Christian (although biographical and encomiastic elements are certainly present);¹⁰³ rather, it deploys lament, consolation, and ethopoia to contrive a fictitious setting of loss, mourning, and comfort. In this text, typical hagiographical praise and exemplarity give way to grief, dismay, and ultimately hope as the affective links that bind the audience to Paul. The open-ended questions, the woes of orphanage and loss, and the lament for the saint's absence all prick the audience with a sense of longing for Paul, sadness for his demise, and finally comfort from his continued postmortem aid. Scholarship on emotion and sensation in late ancient Christianity helps us understand that beyond theology, morality, and ritual, affective and sensory experiences were integral to early Byzantine Christian piety.¹⁰⁴ The *EpTim* does not

100 For a thick description of the cult of Saint Paul in the early Byzantine West, see Eastman, *Paul the Martyr*. There is no such comprehensive study for the East. For several area- or author-specific case studies, see D. R. MacDonald, *The Legend and the Apostle: The Battle for Paul in Story and Canon* (Philadelphia, 1983); J. A. Harrill, *Paul the Apostle: His Life and Legacy in Their Roman Context* (New York, 2012), 97–137; M. Mitchell, *The Heavenly Trumpet: John Chrysostom and the Art of Pauline Interpretation* (Tübingen, 2000; repr. Louisville, 2002); A. Mentzos, "Paul and Philippi: The Early Cult of the Apostle and the Topography of the Late Antique City," in *Philippi, from Colonia Augusta to Communitas Christiana: Religion and Society in Transition*, ed. S. J. Friesen et al. (Leiden, 2022), 296–315.

101 For overviews of hagiography and encomiastic homilies, see H. Delehay, *Les passions des martyrs et les genres littéraires* (Brussels, 1921); R. Aigrain, *L'hagiographie: Ses sources, ses méthodes, son histoire* (repr. Poitiers, 2000; orig. pub. Paris, 1953); Leemans et al., "Let Us Die That We May Live." For the formal and thematic similarities between Greek and Syriac hagiography, see E. Synek, "Eastern Christian Hagiographical Traditions: Oriental Orthodox: Syriac Hagiography," in *The Blackwell Companion to Eastern Christianity*, ed. K. Parry (Oxford, 2007), 439–50; G. W. Bowersock, "The Syriac Life of Rabbula and Syrian Hellenism," in *Greek Biography and Panegyric in Late Antiquity*, ed. T. Hägg and P. Rousseau (Berkeley, 2000), 255–71; S. A. Harvey and S. P. Brock, *Holy Women of the Syrian Orient*, updated ed. (Berkeley, 1998), 14–19; J.-N. M. Saint Laurent, "Prologues as Narthexes in Syriac Hagiography," in *Syriac Hagiography: Texts and Beyond*, ed. S. Minov and F. Ruani (Leiden, 2021), 17–55. Susan Ashbrook Harvey has demonstrated specific cultural and thematic tendencies of Syriac hagiography, such as a strong ascetic inclination, ascetics living within society, embodiment of biblical symbols, and Miaphysitism, all within Hellenistic literary forms, in "Syriac Hagiography: An Emporium of Cultural Influences," in *Horizons in Semitic Studies: Articles for the Student*, ed. J. A. Eaton (Birmingham, 1980), 59–68; and *Asceticism and Society in Crisis: John of Ephesus and the Lives of the Eastern Saints* (Berkeley, 1990; repr. 2018).

102 The epistle's context within early Byzantine piety toward saints becomes apparent when, in the midst of the lament, the author

exclaims, "Let us celebrate a feast day for that celebrator of feast days; let us make the offering for that acceptable offering! And commemorate that commemorator of the saints!" a clear reference to the annual feast days of the martyrs that arose in the fourth century (*EpTim* 4.1–3; see also *EpTim* 4.24: "Rome, behold, celebrates those whom it killed"). Furthermore, most copies of this letter are found in manuscripts that contain collections of saints' vitae, apostolic histories, homiliaries, synaxaria, and writings specifically on the Apostle Paul (see Macé et al., *Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita*, 23, 59–60, 100–102, 112–13, 157–58, 189, 267–68). While most copies are found in such collections, other manuscript contexts include Paul's letters, the pseudo-Dionysian theological corpus, dogmatic florilegia, collections of mystical theology, in connection with a pseudo-Origenian homily on John, and a fictitious autobiography of Dionysios the Areopagite. Most notably, lengthy quotations from the letter made their way into the entry for the feast of Saints Peter and Paul on 29 June in the *Legenda aurea*, the massively popular hagiographical collection of late medieval Western Europe (Macé et al., *Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita*, 227–29). The epistle thus contributed to the materials to be read on the feast day in commemoration of the saints.

103 The *EpTim* contains two encomiastic sections in which the author offers lists of epithets and praises for Paul; see *EpTim* 2 and 8 below. While consolatory speeches and letters differ from the encomiastic form of the βασιλικὸς λόγος and other such speeches, they nevertheless do contain certain encomiastic elements; in particular, Menander explains that the monody and the lament portion of a consolatory speech should take as motivation for its lament the encomiastic topics, without becoming an encomium itself (Menander, *On Epideictic Speeches* 2.8.1 and 2.15.2–10), advice followed by the *EpTim*.

104 Miller, *Corporeal Imagination*; S. A. Harvey, *Scenting Salvation: Ancient Christianity and the Olfactory Imagination* (Berkeley, 2006); G. Frank, *The Memory of the Eyes: Pilgrims to Living Saints in Christian Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, 2000); various essays in C. L. de Wet and W. Mayer, eds., *Revisioning John Chrysostom: New*

simply re-narrate Paul's martyrdom or make the story more credible by posing as an eyewitness testimony from Dionysios; it cultivates an affective devotion to the saint. While the structural and rhetorical similarities

Approaches New Perspectives (Leiden, 2019); B. Leyerle, *The Narrative Shape of Emotion in the Preaching of John Chrysostom* (Berkeley, 2020); B. Leyerle, "The Etiology of Sorrow and Its Therapeutic Benefits in the Preaching of John Chrysostom," *JLA* 8.2 (2015): 368–85; E. S. Koroma, "Imprecatory Psalms as Prophecy: How John Chrysostom's *Commentary on the Psalms* Addresses the Moral Problem of Anger," *JECrSt* 31.1 (2023): 33–56; Doerfler, *Jephthah's Daughter*.

between various versions of the text show that such was the goal of the author of the original Greek text, the Syriac version analyzed here, a unique adaption of the text in its own right, participates in the same emotion-eliciting rhetoric.

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helping me improve the argument of this paper. All remaining shortcomings are my own.

English Translation of the Syriac Version

Epistle of Saint Dionysios to Saint Timothy on the Death of Saints Peter and Paul

1. To Timothy,¹ the divine disciple, the spiritual son, the heart, and mind, and *companion, and fulfiller of the will, and bearer of the tribulations*² of him who exceeds honors and all praises, the teacher of truth and spiritual father, Paul, [from] Dionysios, in God the Father of all, and in the Son Jesus Christ, and in his living and Holy Spirit, greetings.

2. That man, *clothed with God*,³ *crucified* and suffering *with Christ*,⁴ *an instrument*⁵ of his spiritual ministry, that sea of wisdom and *father of tongues*,⁶ that illuminator of the holy church and darkener of paganism, that axe that splits apart the gates of sin, that adamant that shatters and breaks sinful idols, that rock *of hard steel*⁷ and overthrower of altars, that scatterer of demons, and destroyer of their feasts;

That earthly angel and heavenly human, that *hero* strong with *power*⁸ and valiant warrior, that divine prototype and image of Christianity, that friend of the gentiles and enemy of the Jews, that destroyer of synagogues and magnifier of the church, that spiritual caretaker *and shield of justice*,⁹

That *servant of Christ*¹⁰ and *herald of the gospel*,¹¹ that enemy of all paganism and gladdener of the church, that divine mouth and tongue of the Holy Spirit, that finder of the lost and lifter of the sunken, *that father of orphans* and husband of *widows*,¹² that raiser of the fallen and strengthener of those who stand, that strengthener of the sick and surgeon of the broken, that community of regions¹³ and peacemaker of the cities, that wise captain and fleshly ship, that one who eagerly pursued things beyond and overcame things here:

1 My translation is based on the Syriac text, with the assistance of
the German translation, in Macé et al., *Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita*,
277–335. The Syriac text from this edition has been adapted here, with
minor formatting changes. Italicized biblical references follow those
found in that edition in order to maintain consistency.

2 Cf. 2 Tim. 3:10.

3 Cf. Gal. 3:27; Rom. 13:14.

4 Cf. Gal. 2:20.

5 Cf. Acts 9:15.

6 Cf. Acts 19:2; 1 Cor. 14:18.

7 Cf. Ezek. 3:9.

8 Cf. 1 Kings 11:28; Sir. 46:1.

9 Cf. Eph. 6:14, 16.

10 Cf. 2 Cor. 11:23; Col. 1:7; 1 Tim. 4:6.

11 Cf. Gal. 2:2; 1 Tim. 2:7; 2 Tim. 1:11.

12 Cf. Sir. 4:10; Ps. 68:5.

13 “Community” (כְּסָבָא) is here used metaphorically to describe Paul’s effort at making Christians of various regions part of a transregional Christian community.

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1. **የግልጽ ጥያቄ**፡ ለግልጽ ጥያቄ ማሳሰቢያ
 2. **የግልጽ ጥያቄ**፡ ለግልጽ ጥያቄ ማሳሰቢያ
 3. **የግልጽ ጥያቄ**፡ ለግልጽ ጥያቄ ማሳሰቢያ

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This man now has left us behind *in the evil world*¹⁴ and has gone away to Christ.

3. My brother Timothy, where is your spiritual father? Where is your teacher, O disciple who loves his teacher? From where do you bring us greetings from him? From sea or from land? From Galatia or from Spain? From Asia or from Corinth? Now *you have become a bereaved orphan*,¹⁵ O our brother Timothy. Now that swift running of yours has ceased.¹⁶ No longer is “*My son and my beloved*” written to you by these holy hands.¹⁷ No longer is “*May you come to one of the cities*” sent to you.¹⁸

My brother Timothy, have you heard where your father Paul is? Today the word of our Lord is fulfilled, which says: “*Amen, I say to you*¹⁹ *that you will long to see an hour from your teacher.*”²⁰

My brother Timothy, that day of sadness and grief has come upon us, *the day of darkness and gloom*.²¹ Who, indeed, would not say with the prophet, “*Who will give water to my head and streams of tears to my eyes, and I will weep day and night*”²² about the light of the church?

Now put away all your books, my brother Timothy. Who will explain to us the obscure words of the prophets? Now say, like Amos did: “*I am an unlearned shepherd.*”²³

No longer is there need for you to serve him in his chains; no longer do you ponder his blessed writings; no longer is it sent to you: “*he is imprisoned and being beaten.*”²⁴ No longer do they trouble you that he is in great danger; no longer is “*Paul, a prisoner of Jesus Christ*” written to you;²⁵ no longer does he have need of you; no longer are you announced in the cities: “*Receive my son and my beloved.*”²⁶

O my brother Timothy, bring with you Jeremiah and come to me; *my heart, my heart bursts from grief and does not keep silent.*²⁷ Who would not clothe themselves with mourning and sadness? Who would the terrors of death not seize? *Priests, put on sackcloth and lament! Wail, servants of the altar!*²⁸ *A voice was heard in Ramah, not only of mourning but of death.*²⁹

14 Cf. 1 John 5:19.

15 Cf. Lam. 5:3.

16 Cf. 2 Tim. 4:7.

17 Cf. 1 Tim. 1:18; 2 Tim. 1:2.

18 Cf. 2 Tim. 4:9, 21.

19 Cf. John 5:24, 8:51.

20 Cf. Luke 17:22.

21 Joel 2:2; Soph 1:15.

22 Cf. Jer. 9:1.

23 Cf. Amos 7:14.

24 Cf. Acts 16:23, 24, 26:29.

25 Eph. 3:1; Philem. 1, 9.

26 Cf. 2 Tim. 1:2.

27 Cf. Jer. 4:19.

28 Joel 1:13.

29 Cf. Matt. 2:18; Jer. 31:15.

היה שני פחדים ביום אחד. היה שני דאגות.
שני פחדים. שני דאגות. שני פחדים. שני דאגות.
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*Two cruel blows in one day!*³⁰ Two calamities at one time!
Two heart-breaking reports in one moment! Grief and grief
of griefs! Mourning and mourning of mournings! Now the
word of Jacob is fulfilled: "*Joseph is no more, and Simon has*
not come [back] to me."³¹

Now Paul is not the light of the church and the hope of
believers. And Simon is not the foundation of the church
and the glory of Christians. Today is fulfilled that which
the prophet said: "*How the sacred stones are demolished and*
thrown down!"³² On this day is fulfilled the word of David:
"*They gave the corpses of your servants as food to the bird of the*
sky, and the flesh of your righteous ones to the wild animals."³³

Where is the running of Paul? Now from the labor of the
road you have given rest to these holy feet. *No longer are they*
*thrown in the stocks in prison;*³⁴ no longer are they bound or
chained; no longer do they travel to barbarian lands; no lon-
ger do they enter cities and islands; no longer do they hang
*the sail;*³⁵ nor do they enter the torture device. How many
lands he entered! How many cities! On how many roads he
walked! How weary he was! Where are these holy hands?
How many divine epistles they wrote! In how many chains
they were bound! How many bonds they received from the
Jews! Where is his holy body, the recipient of scourges and
bearer of torments? Where is that eloquent mouth and that
skilled tongue? Where is that wisdom of wisdoms? Where is
that philosophical eloquence and soul clothed with God?

4. My brother Timothy, let us celebrate a feast for that
celebrator of feasts! Let us make an offering for that *accept-*
*able offering!*³⁶ And commemorate that commemorator
of the saints! Who would not weep? And who would
not mourn? These men who were worthy of honor, *like*
*evildoers,*³⁷ were given over to death.

O my brother Timothy, if only you had seen that wondrous
struggle! But perhaps, if you were there, you would have
perished from sadness. Your grief is not great because you did
not see them as they went to receive their sentencing. Who
would not weep at that sorrowful and sad hour, when the two
were bound in chains like murderers, and the crowds pressed
for that marvelous sight, and when the sober old men were
mocked by unbelievers and by Jews? Who, indeed, did not
weep at that hour, when myriads of myriads of mouths were
spitting in their faces, when they received blows from every
side, and they kept silent *like innocent lambs?*³⁸

30 Cf. Isa. 47:9.

31 Cf. Gen. 42:36.

32 Cf. Lam. 4:1.

33 Cf. Ps. 79:2.

34 Cf. Acts 16:24.

35 Cf. Acts 27:40.

36 Cf. Eph. 5:2; 1 Pet. 2:5.

37 Cf. 2 Tim. 2:9.

38 Cf. Jer. 11:19; Isa. 53:7.

[illegible]

5. ארבעה דברים נאמרו על ישראל: שיהיו חסידים, שיהיו צדיקים, שיהיו נביאים, שיהיו מלכים. וכל אחד מהם נאמר על ישראל: ויהיו חסידים, ויהיו צדיקים, ויהיו נביאים, ויהיו מלכים. וכל אחד מהם נאמר על ישראל: ויהיו חסידים, ויהיו צדיקים, ויהיו נביאים, ויהיו מלכים.

אֵלֶּיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְלֹא לְאִישׁ
 מִלְּבָבֵנוּ וְלֹא לְאִישׁ מִלְּמִנְהָלֵנוּ
 וְלֹא לְאִישׁ מִלְּמִשְׁפָּחָנוּ וְלֹא לְאִישׁ
 מִלְּמִדְּבַרֵּנוּ וְלֹא לְאִישׁ מִלְּמִשְׁכָּנֵנוּ
 וְלֹא לְאִישׁ מִלְּמִשְׁכָּנֵי אֲבוֹתֵינוּ
 וְלֹא לְאִישׁ מִלְּמִשְׁכָּנֵי אֲבוֹתֵי אֲבוֹתֵינוּ
 וְלֹא לְאִישׁ מִלְּמִשְׁכָּנֵי אֲבוֹתֵי אֲבוֹתֵי אֲבוֹתֵינוּ
 וְלֹא לְאִישׁ מִלְּמִשְׁכָּנֵי אֲבוֹתֵי אֲבוֹתֵי אֲבוֹתֵי אֲבוֹתֵינוּ

39 Cf. Matt. 27:51.

40 Cf. Ps. 22:2; Matt. 27:46; Mark 15:34.

41 Cf. Acts 24:27.

42 Cf. 2 Sam. 18:33, 19:4.

43 Cf. I Cor. 4:9.

[illegible]

മുൻപിരിക്കേണ്ടതായിട്ടുള്ളതാണ്. അതിനാൽ അതിനെക്കുറിച്ച്
 ചർച്ച ചെയ്യാൻ സാധിക്കില്ല. അതിനാൽ അതിനെക്കുറിച്ച്
 ചർച്ച ചെയ്യാൻ സാധിക്കില്ല. അതിനാൽ അതിനെക്കുറിച്ച്
 ചർച്ച ചെയ്യാൻ സാധിക്കില്ല.

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

How many churches are awaiting now your reply? How many priests wait now for your greeting? And how many persuasive epistles now bear your greeting? Today the journeys of your disciples from Rome are killed. Today your disciples are orphans. Who calms the angry? Now who interprets the scriptures for us? Now we do not run to Rome. No longer do we say: "Come, let us go to Paul and let us hear interpretations from him." No longer are the prophets searched by us, for there are no interpreters of their books. To whom have you committed your disciples, O teacher of truth?

Blessed is Rome, who was worthy of this greatness. Truly Jerusalem and Rome are sisters: the former killed Christ, and the latter his apostles. Jerusalem, behold, worships the one whom it crucified, and Rome, behold, celebrates those whom it killed.

6. O my brother Timothy, I saw a great wonder on the day when Peter and Paul were crowned. For when they were separated, one from the other, I saw them, and when they were returning after their slaughter, I saw them entering before me through a gate together, both holding each other's hand, and wearing royal clothes, and crowns placed on their heads. And not only I was deemed worthy of this sight, but also a handmaiden from the family of the wicked Nero, a woman whom he, Paul, had baptized.

For when he went to be martyred, he took from her a headscarf, and he said to her: “When I come [back], I will bring it to you.” And when he bent his head before the sword, he wrapped his face with that scarf. And when those executioners returned, that girl said to them, “Where is Paul?” And they said to her: “Behold, he is killed and lying among the pagans, and your headscarf, behold, is wrapped upon his face and is spattered with his blood.” And she said to them: “Peter and Paul passed by here now, wearing royal clothes and crowns placed on their heads, and that headscarf that I gave to Paul he has returned to me.” And when she showed it to them, they were amazed, and they glorified God. And many believed in God and became Christians because of this wonder.

7. And now, my brother Timothy, that man whom you loved is now with Christ: *Saul and Jonathan, in their lives and in their deaths, did not separate.*⁴⁴ O my brother Timothy, now they are with us spiritually. Here we were not separated from them until humans separated them from us. This separation is not one that cuts off hope, but the separation that cuts off hope is that which happens there [beyond]. For the one whom humans separate from his companions comes again into a relationship with those

